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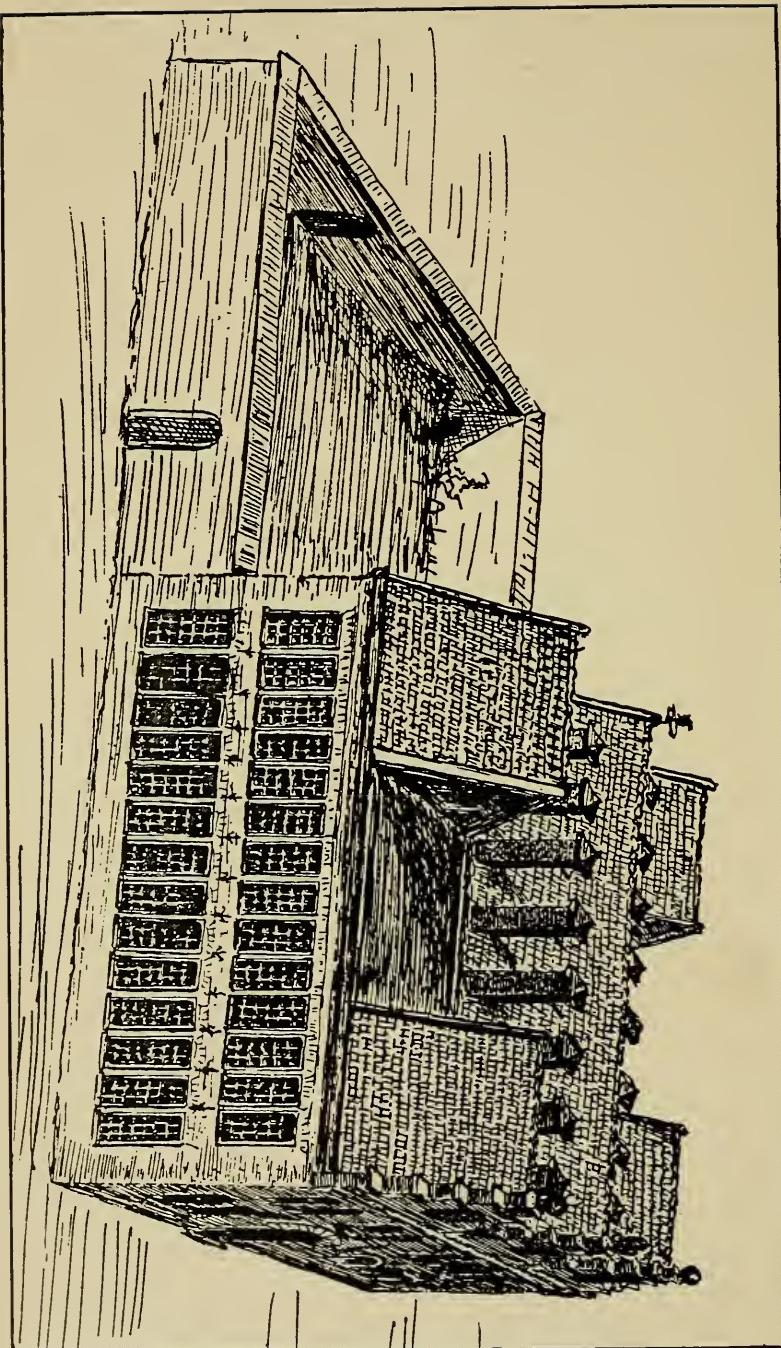
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JAN MUNTER'S BAKEHOUSE—HOME OF THE BROWNISTS

HISTORY
OF THE
FREE CHURCHMEN
CALLED
THE BROWNISTS, PILGRIM FATHERS
AND BAPTISTS IN THE
DUTCH REPUBLIC

1581-1701

BY THE LATE

J. DE HOOP SCHEFFER, D.D.

Professor of Church History in the Mennonite College and
in the University of Amsterdam, Netherlands

With a Memoir, translated from the Dutch

BY

J. DE HOOP SCHEFFER

WILLIAM ELLIOT GRIFFIS, A.M., D.D., L.H.D., *Editor*

AUTHOR OF

"The Pilgrims in Their Three Homes," "Young People's
History of the Pilgrims," "Brave Little Holland,"
"The Americans in Holland," Motley's
Dutch Nation," etc.

Honorary Member of the Literary and Scientific
Societies of Middelburg, Leyden and Leeuwarden

ANDRUS & CHURCH
ITHACA, N. Y.

Suv

ERRATA

- p. 10, for Hanbury, read printing.
p. 21, for Tenant, read Tenent.
p. 31, for Anapaptists, read Anabaptists.
p. 49, for Liberty, read liberty.
p. 69, for Isreal, read Israel.
p. 158, for Schwenchfelders, read Schwenkfelders.
p. 167, for alice, read Alice.
p. 184, for principle to, read of, and add after Lutherans, quotation
marks.

For all other misprints here unnoted, the editor begs the indulgence
of readers.

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BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICE

THOROUGHNESS, exactness, and precision are indispensable qualities in a historian.

Professor Dr. J. G. de Hoop Scheffer, did not lack these qualities, as is clearly shown by his principal work, the History of the Reformation in the Netherlands, from its origin till 1531. (German translation by Dr. P. Gerlach, entitled : *Geschichte der Reformation in den Niederlanden von ihren Beginn bis zum Jahre 1531*).

Reviewers highly praise this book, stating unanimously, that not one martyr of the period was overlooked. No wonder ! All over the country, keepers of archives and searchers were most anxious to be of service to him. Among his papers, bundles of transcripts of legal sentences, private correspondance, annotations, inscriptions in family-bibles, etc., etc., were found after his death. Hoping that new material might still turn up, the author postponed repeatedly the publication of his book. When at last it was produced, the subject was altogether exhausted.

Yet this method has its drawbacks. It caused the failure of our author's purpose in life: to write a complete history of Menno Simons and the Mennonites. True, new sources of information were opened, unpublished documents consulted, a considerable quantity of materials amassed,—but the book itself was left unwritten. In vain his friends pressing him to give the results of his labours and researches, declared themselves satisfied with a concise history, if he would but write such a work. Dr. Scheffer held to the principle, that the more extended and elaborate work should precede a smaller history.

Though living to the age of seventy-four, the time proved to be too short for this seeker after truth.

Jacob Gysbert de Hoop Scheffer was born on the 28th of

September, 1819, at the Hague, Holland. [He died at Amsterdam December 31, 1873.]

From 1837-1843, he was educated at the Mennonite College in Amsterdam and at the University of Utrecht,* in which he was given the degree of B.D. In 1870 in recognition of his merits as a historian created D.D., honoris causa, by the Leyden** University. In 1872 he was elected a member of the Dutch Royal Academy of Sciences. In addition he held the diplomas of several literary and scientific societies. Among others that of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, in Philadelphia, Pa. After having ministered in the Mennonite Church, as preacher, he was in 1859 appointed professor at the Mennonite College in Amsterdam. From 1877, he held also the same office in the Municipal University of Amsterdam, being the last professor of that faculty who entered upon his office with an inaugural address in Latin. This was entitled: "De providentia divina Teleiobaptistas Neerlandicos ab exitio vindicante."

During this period Dr. Scheffer displayed his preference for the study of the history of religious sects and societies. In 1862, the emeritus professor of the said

* ACADEMIAM, RHENO-TRAIECTUM

Matrem . Aliae . Matris . Nostrae . Salutatamus

The . Trustees . Faculty . Alumni . and . friends . of
RUTGERS : COLLEGE

AT . NEW BRUNSWICK . NEW JERSEY . U. S. A.
whose . early . development . was . greatly . aided . through

REV. JOHN H. LIVINGSTON D.D.

A . Student . in . Utrecht . University . 1768-1770
Rear . this . Tablet . in . Grateful . Appreciation

A.D . 1909

** At Leyden University, as Peacock's Index shows, when the tercentenary was celebrated in 1875, nearly five thousand British and American students had been educated, while the English Universities were closed to the Free Churchmen.—ED.

Mennonite College, Dr. Muller, sought his assistance in furnishing to Mr. B. Evans, for his "Early English Baptists" the desired information on some Baptists, who joined the Waterland Mennonites in 1615. Dr. Muller (Evans, Early Baptists, I. p. 220) says: assisted by one of the two professors of our Seminary," which refers to Dr. Scheffer.

This essay appeared in 1880, but the researches for Evans' book had already turned Dr. Scheffer's attention to the history of the Brownists. [Free Churchmen or Congregationalists—the Pilgrim Fathers being so called]. He had the good fortune to discover a Dutch translation of John Smyth's confession of faith, (see appendix H). The English original of this had in 1738, been lost: but was recovered in 1871, by Dr. H. M. Dexter in the library of York Minster.

Meanwhile, Dr. Scheffer contributed historical studies to various periodicals, especially to the "Doopsgezinde Bijdragen." ("Mennonite* Contributions.")—an annual which he edited from 1870 until his death. These publications attracted attention and his methods of investigation were appreciated. Perhaps, too, his critical eye and trenchent pen—continually at war against false quantities and inaccuracies—were somewhat feared. Be this as it may, many an author thought it desirable to have his work revised by Dr. Scheffer, before publication.

In England Robert Barclay expressed his obligations to the Amsterdam professor for his revision of the Chapter on Menno Simons in his book "The Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth, London, 1876."

Judge [the late Governor], Samuel W. Pennypacker of Philadelphia, Pa., wrote to me, February 8, 1894: "I

* The best and latest historical accounts of the Mennonites in America, their recent literature, etc., etc., are to be found in the Encyclopedia Americana, of 1919.—ED.

learned with the greatest regret of the death of your father, with whom I had the pleasure of corresponding for many years and also the pleasure of meeting when I was in Amsterdam in 1890. His extensive literary acquirements and his thorough research will cause his loss to be felt in America, as well as in Europe. I presented your letter to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania of which he was a valued and honored member."

W. H. Whitsitt, professor at the Baptist College of Louisville, Ky., Dr. Nippold, the learned professor of Church history, first at Bern, next at Jena and others in their labors regularly consulted Dr. Scheffer.

Several unrevised articles in the encyclopedias showed the need of Scheffer's researches. Yet he was not only the referee of authors and scholars, but not a few wealthy Americans of Netherlandish descent applied to him for the missing links in their family-chain. In such cases this most scrupulous scholar, whom nothing would have induced to write against his convictions, or to testify anything without clear proofs, delivered only sterling golden links. Whenever an American tells you that, according to Dr. Scheffer's statement, he is of Dutch descent, you may be quite sure that the statement is true, even if his name in the course of time has been ever so much changed, translated or corrupted by foreign tongues—even though you find the name among the Mayflower's list of passengers.*

No advertising was required to keep that curious correspondence between Americans and the Amsterdam historian alive. Even after his decease Dr. Scheffer's family received

* No fewer than eight nationalities were represented in the Leyden Church and the Plymouth colony and when in the Republic several of the Free Churchmen, late in 1797 called first "Pilgrim Fathers," wrote their names in Dutch form and spelling. See the "Young People's History of the Pilgrims," Boston, 1920, and in J. D. Sawyer's "History of the Pilgrims and Puritans: their Ancestry and Descendants," New York, 1922.—ED.

both letters and visits of these planters of genealogical trees. His death took place on the 31st of December, 1893.

The seeker after further biographical particulars concerning J. G. de Hoop Scheffer may be referred to the Encyclopedia of Living Divines, edited by Philip Schaff, D.D., and Samuel Macauley Jackson, M.A., New York 1887; in which he is one of the fifteen Dutch theological professors mentioned in the work.—J. DE HOOP SCHEFFER.

Amsterdam, 1921.

HISTORY OF THE FREE CHURCHMEN IN HOLLAND

INTRODUCTION

TWO sections of the Christian Church, whose numbers, in the countries in which the English language is spoken are now reckoned by millions, originated in the Netherlands over three centuries and a half ago. The refugees found freedom in the Dutch Republic; the Independents or Congregationalists at Leyden, the Baptists at Amsterdam.

Few periods of American history have the attraction for students like that one in the decade from 1620 to 1630. In this period the Independents, or Pilgrim Fathers, settled at Plymouth. After the precedent of success given by these pioneers, came the Puritans.

To investigate Pilgrim origins, to learn the life, character and purposes of the founders of Plymouth colony, to trace out the motives and causes of their leaving Europe, have been during the last seventy years tasks in which the ablest American historians have spared neither time nor toil. Every vestige in writing in England the Netherlands has been sought out and the Dutch and English archives ransacked. Books so scarce as to be almost unobtainable, have been reprinted and for others searches were begun long ago, which have continued to this day. Enthusiastic scholars crossed the ocean many times in order to glean in this field of history and to collect information in reference to their ancestors.

These untiring efforts excited attention in England and prompted the scholars, Hanbury, Fletcher, Marsden, Hunter, Waddington and others to issue monographs throwing light on ecclesiastical affairs in the reign of Elizabeth and James the First, and thus in the movements of

colonists to America. Not less creditable in this department are the labors of George Weber of Heidelberg and Hermann Weingarten. The former in the second volume of his Church History of England (1845), dealing with the Puritans; the latter, in 1868, on the first forty pages of his excellent work "Die Revolutionskirche Englands" (The revolutionary churches of England).

Was it to be wondered that at first, little aid came from Holland, especially since the Republic during ten, twenty or more years had sheltered numbers of these colonists, before they started thence to New England? Many of their writings, too, were published at Middelburg, Leyden and Amsterdam. Surely in Holland if anywhere inquirers should look for authentic data concerning their fortunes, adventures, their religious and social life, and the causes of their departure to the Western Hemisphere.

Dr. N. C. Kist, (1803-1859) professor of Church History at Leyden, was the first and for awhile the only one among the Hollanders devoting himself to this subject. To the "Nederlandsch Archief voor Kerkelijke Geschiedenis" (Netherland Archives for Church History) vol. VIII, 1848, a periodical he edited with his Utrecht colleague, H. J. Royaards, from 1841 to 1849, he contributed a paper on the Father of the Independents, the celebrated John Robinson.

To some extent, Dr. Kist followed the lines laid down by his predecessors Georgius Hominus in his book "De Statu ecclesiae Britanniae hodierno," 1647, and Johannes Hoornbeck in his "Summa controversiarum religionis" (Lib. X, De Brownistis, page 738-833) and in his "Epistole de independentisme," 1658 and 1660. Dr. E. B. Swalve, a disciple of professor Kist, enlarged, in 1859, his Dutch translation of R. Baird, "Religion in America" and of W. H. Bartlett, "the Pilgrim Fathers," with a few particulars on the Brownists of Holland, which, however, are far from being correct in details.

One should have expected that the affixing, in 1864, under the auspices of Rev. Henry Martin Dexter of Boston and Professor G. E. Day then of Cincinnati, of a commemorative tablet in stone on the front of the house, on the site of Robinson's dwelling in Leyden, and the exertions of some Americans to mark by an appropriate memorial the place of embarkation at Delfshaven would have served as impulses to fresh researches. Not so!

Still less attention than to the Brownists or Independents of Leyden was paid to the history of their fellow-believers of Amsterdam. This was hardly with good reason. In comparison with the Amsterdam Brownists, Robinson's congregation came but slightly in contact with the Dutch.

In the beginning at least, the Pilgrims exerted little influence in Europe. The Amsterdam Brownists, on the contrary, maintained regular relations with England, and an influential part of their number returned thither, among them was developed a form of Christianity, which is still increasing and has powerfully affected the world's history. The Baptists founded Rhode Island and have shown themselves a mighty power among all English-speaking peoples and on the foreign missionary field.

Robert Barclay, a worthy descendant of an illustrious namesake conclusively demonstrated in his work "The inner Life of the religious Societies of the Commonwealth," that whoever wishes to be well acquainted with the innumerable religious sects in England in the time of the protectorship; whoever wishes to understand historically the action of George Fox and his "friends," should first of all direct his attention towards what happened in the Netherlands, whether among the natives or among the English exiles at Amsterdam, in the beginning of the seventeenth century."

The agitations, differences and separations of that period exercised an immense influence over the ecclesiastical and

religious life of England. Moreover, without an exact knowledge of these conflicts, many phenomena of Protestant christianity in Holland, also, cannot be understood. Most of the Separatist movements in the Netherlands, to which a few pamphlets refer and in particular the multitude in or about 1611, and the reprinted mystical writings of the Reformation were lost sight of in the great controversy between the forces of Dutch Calvanism and Arminianism led by Franciscus Gomarus and Jacobus Arminius.

Many, however, "pressed on," showing the love of separations, of innovating conventicles, of opposition to hierarchy, to ecclesiastical doctrines, often indulging in morbid enjoyments of pietism and mysticism. These highly important facts have been for the most part overlooked by historians.

Beyond all doubt continued research would have made it clear that the intercourse of Dutch people with the foreigners settled temporarily in Holland, more particularly with the English exiles, had a notable influence on the development of Christianity on the Continent.

The history of those exiles may not therefore be neither unacceptable or uninteresting.

The pamphlets from or relating to the Amsterdam Brownists are to be found mainly in the British museum, the Lambeth Library at London, the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and the Libraries of Christ College and Emmanuel College at Cambridge.

To W. H. Whitsitt, professor at the Baptist Seminary of Louisville, Ky., for the loan of transcripts and copies of these documents and to B. Hanbury's "Historical Memorials relating to the Independents," I am much indebted. From the Amsterdam Municipal Archives, the Archives of the Dutch Reformed, the Walloon Reformed churches, and, more important than either, from those of the Amsterdam Mennonite Church, I have drawn much pertinent informa-

tion hitherto unknown, which throws new light on the stay of the Brownists in the Dutch Republic from about 1580 to 1615.

The first portions of these lectures were delivered prior to the publication of H. M. Dexter, "The Congregationalism of the last Three Hundred Years as seen in its Literature," so that I could, for the second part only, and in the appendices avail myself of that admirable work, dealing with the Brownists (pp. 255 to 356). It is gratifying to see that both of us, independently of each other, often arrived at the same conclusion. Dr. Dexter had at his disposal a multitude of pamphlets*—245 of which covered the period now under review—while I enjoyed the advantage over him of a greater familiarity with local circumstances, and of being enabled to investigate archives, unknown or unsearched, by that eminent scholar.

J. G. DE H. S.

* The entire and extremely valuable collection made by Dr. H. M. Dexter is now in one of the alcoves of the Yale University Library. In the Congregational Library in Boston and at Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y., are also collections of Pilgrim Father's literature.—ED.

EDITOR'S PREFACE

THE story of the origins of American freedom and of democracy must ever be a subject of interested inquiry. It may be that, heretofore, students have paid a disproportionate attention to what was phenomenal and on a vast scale, and that not enough scrutiny has been bestowed upon the intangible but potent forces.

Truth is truth under all forms, whatever be its garb or environment. One of the subtle proofs of this is seen in the Master's teaching. He gave not one but two parables. He showed both the visible and the invisible working of truth for the coming of the Kingdom.

The correlation and mutual witness of ancient scripture and modern science are especially illustrated in the realm of chemistry. He who did both reveal and live the truth told us of the great tree, visible and vocal, but he also called our attention to the potency of the leaven, unseen but transforming. In the one instance, the multitude take notice, in the other the thoughtful are more interested.

So also even in the full blaze of modern discovery, the once "rare metals" and unknown elements disturbed the calculations of experts in the laboratory and confused the reactions expected and wrought under the fingers and eyes of the most skilful. Yet, in our own day, we know that these potencies, now in measure revealed, affect the universe. Men have begun to split the atom and new forces are in process of revelation and release. Our fathers were accustomed to limit both time and space, but now, to these, who dare fix boundaries? Yet God bids us seek and inquire—"concerning the work of my hands, command ye me."

In history, fewer than five of the uncounted centuries of this world's development have passed, since Christians, in

the great Reformation, broke the yoke of ecclesiastical feudalism. Scholars have perhaps paid too much attention to popes, cardinals, emperors, kings, state church bishops, and other politicians, or holders of the power, on which they put the labels of "spiritual" and "temporal." Or, the mighty leaders of thought and organization, Zwingli, Luther, Calvin, Knox have been too much in the mind's eye and in popular feelings, while the humble and obscure have been ignored.

Nevertheless a study of the more inconspicuous, but none the less potent forces, in the form of spiritual democracy, may be worth while. After great triumphs, we inquire into hidden causes. For the true understanding of human progress such scrutiny yields results analogous to researches into the material structure of the universe. Radium is not abundant, nor, until recently, was even its existence suspected.

We have all heard the story of the British Separatists, or Free Churchmen, in England, Holland and America. The tercentenary of these Pilgrim Fathers—nameless as such until 1797—has been celebrated in Holland and by all the English-speaking nations. Their story and their part in the making of the United States of America has been told in art, eloquence, pageant and literature.

Yet the Anabaptists, so long the pariahs of history, the Mennonites, the Walloons—first home-makers of Distinctive America, that is, the Middle States Region—and the Quakers were none the less Pilgrim Fathers. They, like Bradford, in his History of Plymouth Plantation, described themselves in the language of Hebrews XI:13 as "pilgrims and strangers on the earth." Yet, we repeat, it was not until 1797 that the term "Pilgrim Fathers" was heard. Now, it has become a battle cry, a watchword for religious orthodoxy and even for political propaganda. Almost dramatic were the contrasts in the celebrations of 1920. In

Holland, the note was religious and historical. In England, two-thirds of the true Pilgrim history was in shadow, but contemporary politics were in the lime light.

So the prophecy is here ventured that the names of the so-called "obscure sects"—the refugees who, being pilgrims and strangers in a world of belated thought governed by force, become a "noble army of martyrs"—will yet come to greater honor, fame and glory. Even their blood cries out from the earth which it once reddened.

A life time's experience has taught this to the editor of Dr. Scheffer's manuscript; for, in his own land, he has beheld freedom and uplift for the retarded races, black and red. In the world of politics and diplomacy, he has seen the once hermit nations of the Far East become World Powers, basing their political hopes on freedom of conscience and general education in the public schools—ideas and institutions of which the Dutch Republic which sheltered "the sects" was the original home.

So the day will come when, from underneath the mass of malignity, ignorance, misrepresentation and caricature, the followers of leaders like Hubmaier, Robert Browne, Menno Simons, William the Silent, Roger Williams and William Penn, will win the world's honor. The church politicians and dogma makers have had their own way long enough. It will be discerned more clearly that "where the spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty." Men have been too long misled by dazzling appeals to the senses, by the false claims of hierarchy and by the endless definitions of doctrine, all of which have been made into engines of spiritual oppression.

The experiment of democracy in the United States of America and of the growth of the Free Churchmen—among these being Baptists, now the largest of the denominations of Reformed Christianity—confirm the word of the Master as to the power of ordered freedom in the gospel. Yet the

work of plowing up ecclesiastical imperialism must go on for a grander harvest that shall bless all nations.

It was the glory of the Pilgrim Fathers that in England they broke the yoke of Norman feudalism, under which a bishop was the "King's man" and the political sovereign recognized as the very image of God on earth. In doing this, they helped powerfully, also, to bring in this freer and more enlightened Mother Land of today, with her brood of stalwart, self-governed nations. We all know the Pilgrim's story and rejoice in it. We shall yet know the Walloon's part in the making of America.

But what of those left behind in the Dutch Republic, after the Speedwell sailed?

To this question, well worth the asking, Dr. Scheffer gives full answer, from the original records and after winnowing much chaff of later fancies.

Is it too much to believe that there are those who, after perusing his narrative, will hold the conviction that these "Brownists," in their evolution, were Europe's van leaders in true spiritual progress?

Though the pitiful limitations of their human nature were manifested and are here unsparingly exposed, in their different forms—those of pinching poverty, heart sickening exile, lack of unity, and lowness of environment, instead of wealth in palaces and power in courts and on thrones, they entered upon the shining path of spiritual freedom, ever looking forward. They pointed the further way. They prepared a rich heritage of truth for posterity. Today their offspring, in numbers as the sand of the sea, or the stars of Heaven, lead the host of Reformed Christendom.

Even apart from what, under God, was the supreme result now manifest to all men, the students of American history, of democracy in its beginnings, and even of genealogy will find Dr. Scheffer's narrative of greater interest, of richer elements of fascinating interest, and of more last-

ing value than hundreds of the ephemeral and popular literary productions of this year of grace, 1922. This is a story of roots, the fruits from which all of us, even when revilers and detractors, now enjoy.

Those humble folk came into contact with mighty men of world fame, such as Arminius, Plancius, Hoofdt, Robinson, Junius and others. In their own body were men of whose scholarship even the learned world today takes note.

The grand army of the world-encompassing Methodists think of Arminius one of their spiritual ancestors, whose name is usually associated, though in contrast or rivalry, with that of Calvin.

Plancius was the learned man abreast of science and the geographer, who handed Hendry Hudson of the Half Moon his commission. The English pilot was sent to find the North East passage to the Indies; but crossing the Atlantic, in hope of finding a route to China, he discovered Distinctive America, wherein lie the Empire and Keystone states.

With the Consistory of those Walloon churches, numbering nearly a septuagint in the tolerant republic, there being even more elsewhere, in Protestant lands, these Brownists corresponded in Latin. Out of these churches went forth, in 1623, the first home-making pioneers, with women and children, to settle our Middle States. They were as God-fearing and man-loving as the Pilgrim Fathers, their very name Walloon meaning pilgrim, stranger, exile.

As in most lands, in which Church and State are united, the civil magistrate being usually more tolerant, and shall we say truly more Christian, than the clerics (?), the Burgomaster Hoofdt of Amsterdam, whose history our Motley loved so to read and that so often as to know nearly every one of its pages by heart, favored the Free Churchmen.

The Dutch Mennonites, from whom sprang Cornelis Plockhoy,* the Delaware pioneer, "father of modern socialism"—of the sort now in modern life as generally accepted and valued as *a b c*, or the multiplication table—settler, social reformer and beginner of the literature of the Delaware valley, the Brownists were as brethren beloved.

Of Robinson, and Junius, and others of more than local fame, who lived in the Republic—which, and not England, gave us all our federal precedents in the political history of the United States of America, flag, constitution, seat of government, freedom of religion and public schools—most of us, especially those who read more than popular historiography, know well. Any one who peruses critically the writings of the American fathers, Bradford, Williams, Penn, Hamilton, Adams, Franklin, Jefferson, Madison and others, know how freely they confessed themselves and our country indebted to the Republic which sheltered Jews and Christians of every name. One national debt to the Dutch is shown in the red and white stripes of the flag, which signify the equality of the states great or small; while on their part the Brownists taught the fact, fundamental in our democracy, of the equality of the individual and the rule of the people applied to church government.

In this day of woman's enfranchisement and acceptance of the logic of democracy an inside view of the life of those who three centuries ago grappled with the great social pro-

*ONE : IN : CHRIST

To . the . glory . of . God . and . in . honor . of
 PIETER : CORNELIS : PLOCKHOY : of : ZIERIKZEE
 A . pioneer . of . Christian . Civilization . in . America
 Founder . of . the . Dutch . Colony . at
 Swaaijendael . Delaware . U. S. A.
 The . Netherlands . Society . of . Philadelphia
 Read . this . memorial
 September . 1913

blems, still in process of solution, will be welcome. Despite the many books written on this theme, the study of social and political biology is still in the primary stage.

It would be almost an insult to the bibliographers and ambitious librarians to praise Dr. Scheffer's Work. A glance through these pages shows the value to the book hunter and lover of rare editions.

The results of few episodes in American history afford such a fertile and satisfying field of genealogical research as does that one of the sojourn, in the Dutch Republic, of the people called the Pilgrim Fathers. The credit of this fact is largely due to the Netherlands archives. No fewer than eight nationalities were represented in this Leyden group, usually supposed to be wholly English in their composition. It was Robinson's church company, which sailed in the Speedwell (and not the Mayflower party, "shuffled in" as Bradford tells us) which proved to be the soul and the most influential, effective and finally victorious element in the initial founding of our six Eastern states. In this Leyden organism, we discern, not only a true type of our composite American ancestry, but also of our federal republic of forty-eight states, of which a possible hundred stars on the flag may yet be the symbol. If our English brethren could but understand that our national and federal political forms are derived, with improvements, from the Dutch Republic and not from that British monarchy, it would greatly clarify their views and opinions concerning us, and the American procedure of our government.

In the commingling of many nationalties in one political brotherhood, the four Middle States surpassed every other section, having on its soil the representatives of no fewer than seventeen strains among the pioneers of Distinctive America. These ultimately formed a compact unity amid diversity, a true *e pluribus unum*, infused with the spirit of toleration and compromise, which reacted upon the country

at large. In the initial settling and cultural impact upon the West, in centripetal power in binding the states in federal union, the Middle Region excelled, and the reason is patent. It was largely peopled by both natives of the Netherlands and the pilgrims and strangers who had breathed their first breath of freedom in the federal republic, in which the moderate man and genuine Christian, William the Silent was called the Father of his Country. The city of Rotterdam became the chief gateway of continental Europeans, English Separatists, Dutch, German, Swiss, Walloons and French Huguenots to America, to enrich our country with their gifts and graces.

It was the work of England, during the first century of the Reformation, to win independence from Rome, to consolidate the nation, and to centralize all power of Church and State in the throne. In this same period, Holland was a laboratory for the trial and experiment of the greatest of the problems which were to effect and create the modern world. These were, defiance of both political and ecclesiastical despotism, freedom of conscience, the toleration of all creeds, the possibilities of federal government, the solving of problems and the settlement of principles that now lie at the foundations of civilization. The Republic of the United States of the Netherlands was then the van leader of Europe. In such a school of experience, all our first colonial military men and most of our founders of states were trained, and the people of the Middle Colonies went forth to make Distinctive America.

The editor, who met Dr. J. G. de Hoop Scheffer, in 1892, at his home in Amsterdam, gladly pays tribute to the filial devotion of the author's son, the translator. He is glad to present this contribution to what is essentially a part of English and American history. The scattered children of the Mother Land, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, dwelling for the most part in the Swiss and Dutch

republics, had perhaps as much to do with the making of two of the most powerful nations of the world, relatively, at least, as have now the mighty commonwealths, on five continents, which are bound by the same ties of language, culture, inheritances and free Christianity—let us hope—for the world's good.

NISI DOMINUS FRUSTRA.

W. E. G.

Pulaski, N. Y.

July 3, 1922

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CHAPTER I

THE RISE OF THE BROWNISTS

TO inquiry as to the causes of the great stream of English exiles into Holland during the reign of Elizabeth and James I the answer is clear.

About 1570 ecclesiastical affairs in England were in a most deplorable state. In utmost opposition of principles parties stood to each other. The power of the State, so far from promoting the unity of the Church acknowledged by law to be the true one, roused to extreme vigor the opposition of thousands, provoking more and more the angry passions in human nature. The State enforced its own will without regard to the feelings of possibly half of the population.

It is known that, by act of parliament of the 3rd November, 1534, the Church of England was "established," which recognized Henry the Eighth, as well as his heirs and successors to the throne as its only supreme head, before long bowing down to him as to God's deputy, and as to the face of God (*Dei vicem genero Deique habens imaginem*).

In the bosom of that very church two factions were soon contending for supremacy. The one was headed by the Duke of Suffolk and Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester. The other was guided and seconded by Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Thomas Cromwell, the King's vicar-general or vicegerent.

No sooner were the projected innovations carried into execution, than Gardiner was in a temper to stand still, as he thought the government organization and doctrine of the Church as satisfactory as possible. Thomas Cromwell, on the other hand, was desirous of gradual, but more radical changes. The former and his adherents, indeed, saw their influence steadily grow, and in 1540, caused Thomas Crom-

well's fall, and exercised absolute authority during the last seven years of Henry's reign.

Their triumph ended at the King's decease, January 28th, 1547. In the name of Edward the Sixth, then nine years of age, the government of the realm was intrusted to a regency which was exclusively under the power of the opponent party. Its leader was Thomas Cranmer. In 1552, the forty-two Articles of Religion, concurring in the main with the tenets of the German and Swiss reformers, were promulgated. The liturgy had still preserved many a practise of the ancient Church, to both the abolition and renovation of which the government was inclined.

The whole face of things, however, changed all at once, for the young King died July 6th, 1553. Then the rigid Roman Catholic, Mary, ascended to the throne, who, one year after, was espoused to Philip II, later King of Spain, a man of like spirit with herself.

Her aversion to all innovations, introduced under Edward's reign, was to be expected. She desired to restore at once the order of things as Henry the Eighth had left it. With the aid of Gardiner she ejected all priests, who had given up the practice of celibacy. Shortly after she began those severe persecutions, to which Cranmer fell a victim by fire and in which all five thousand martyrs gave up their lives.

Another thousand fled to Wesel, Frankfort, Geneva, where they were heartily welcomed by fellow-believers. These members of secret Reformed Churches under the Cross dispensed with and later made it an article of faith to abolish symbols. While seeking reality, they advocated the most rigid republican principles with regard to the Church.

The refugees, particularly those established at Frankfort, submitted willingly to the conditions under which they were allowed to meet in a Church edifice, viz.: they should not quarrel about outward forms or ceremonies and had to sign the Confessio Gallica.

It is true that they still made use of the Prayer Book of Edward the Sixth, ordered from Geneva, 1554, through the influence of John Knox ; but they omitted the liturgy, responsories and some ceremonies. These people afterwards took the name of Presbyterians. Other English exiles, residing at Strasburg, Grindall, Chambers, Cox, protested against these proceedings and strictly adherred to Edward's liturgy, and so became the spiritual fathers of the Anglicans. Yet before they returned to their home land, the two factions here came to an open rupture.

The return of these exiles dates from about November 17th, 1558, or following Queen Mary's death. Her successor, Elizabeth, was greatly influenced by her former confessor, Matthew Parker, who, December 17th, 1559, was appointed to the See of Canterbury. In February, 1559, she took upon herself the supreme direction of ecclesiastical affairs. Four months later, she restored the liturgy of Edward the Sixth.

Clinging close to the showy forms and ceremonies of the Roman faith, she moulded as far as possible according to her own notions, and in such a way as to win many Romish subjects. Causes giving offence to the Popish laity were expunged. Crucifixes and images might not be removed from churches. Priestly vestments could, as hitherto, be worn, and sacred hymns be chanted. Because of these concessions conformed to the establishment, especially the foremost leaders of the Anglicans, who next were elevated to dignified positions.

The opposition to this arbitrariness was furious. The heads of the contending factions during this period of great scarcity of preachers, and while out of nine thousand parishes only three thousand would be served regularly, possessed themselves of the pulpit and so commanded the public mind and won respect.

These earnest workers refused to comply with the re-

modeled liturgy. Though Elizabeth succeeded in bringing about unity of doctrine by issuing Edward the Sixth's forty-two articles, somewhat modified and reduced to thirty-nine, the public worship gradually differed from the prescribed uniformity.

This excited the Queen's indignation and she resolved on putting an end to it by requiring the bishops to step in and make use of the civil authority by Archbishop Parker, these prelates published an advertisement, threatening to depose every clergyman who did not at once conform himself to the "established" mode of worship.

Once again the majority submitted. Only a feeble minority persisted in its opposition. Parker gave these the contemptuous epithet of "Precisians." The people ironically called them "Puritans."

Some of the leaders of these opponents : Sampson, Humphrey, Whittingham, even the violent Withers, were shortly afterwards tempted by considerable offices into clothing themselves in the distinctive uniform of the clergy. Their opposition was broken. They, however, were for the most part replaced by far less flexible men, for the greater part educated at the University of Cambridge.

Furthermore, the Church now having the power of law, deposed a great many opponents in April 1566. The government on June 29, 1566, put restraints upon printing. Those dragged from the conventicles were thrown into prison June 19, 1567. Nevertheless, the claims of the Puritans became stronger and stronger. Every day the numbers refusing the authority of the political church was multiplied.

This progress continued during the four subsequent years. Pope Pius V tried to force England to submit to his authority. The conspiracy of Anne of Norfolk, the insurrection in the North, fomented by creatures of the papacy, the correspondence with Mary Stuart, the bull issued against Elizabeth continued to drive the English people into total

opposition to papal authority. The aversion to what savored of Rome became intense.

So far, the continuation of various practices in the mediaval forms of worship had been regarded with slight concern. Hitherto the scruples of the Puritans were popularly deemed absurd. Now, what was Roman in origin began to irritate. Any compliance, most worshipers thought, was seconding the Roman Catholics and raising their hopes of an early triumph.

An increasing multitude began to think that the influence of Rome could not forever be stamped out unless the boundary line was drawn more clearly. Church order and usage, or, in a word : discipline—a principle which gave the name of Disciplinarians to the denomination—needed, it was thought, a total reformation. The distinction between bishops (overseers) and Presbyters (elders) was denied, since in the New Testament all Christians were alike.

Nor did the reformers acknowledge the right of bishops to have seats in parliament, or to take part in any other government. The Scriptures know no archdeacons or deacons as officers with authority ; no spiritual courts using secular power. The congregations should themselves choose their own ministers. It was a scandal to appoint dumb-ministers, pluralists and non-residents. A more strict discipline should expel unworthy and impenitent persons from the Lord's supper.

A liturgy with set forms—by preference that of Geneva—was not objectionable, but an excessive use of the Lord's Prayer, continual responses by the laity, the officiating in Popish apparel, the playing of the organ, should be disapproved. No holy days, no fasts, no kneeling at the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, no bowing at the name of Jesus, no sign of the cross, no godfathers at baptism when the parents were still alive. The bans of marriage should be proclaimed publicly in the church. Children of the age of

nine or ten should no longer be received as members of the church. Sunday trading should be rigidly prohibited by law.

These claims were set up by the Disciplinarist, Thomas Cartwright, the friend of the eminent reformer, Theodore Beza, and since 1569 professor at Cambridge, who was their leader. He recruited numerous adherents chiefly from the young clergy. His success sharpened his colleagues. Chatterton and Whitgift's jealousy, who came to hate his person. Contrary to the university's wishes, but countenanced by higher order, these colleagues succeeding at first in suspending, and next in dismissing Cartwright. After continued annoyances they even, in 1574, compelled him to take shelter in foreign parts. He went to Antwerp, the usual asylum of the Puritans, and afterwards joined the English merchants residing at Middelburg. At both places he served as pastor; at Middelburg until 1585, when he returned to England for the sake of his health.

Meanwhile, a new brotherhood arose in England. The Puritans as well as the Disciplinarists were ever hoping by their example and influence to reform the church from within. They had never thought of leaving it. Cartwright and his followers looked for religious reform and awaited it at the hands of the civil government. When this had been achieved they proposed to leave the church substantially under civil control.

In fact their theory of the church was as unsuited to any genuine and thorough reform, as it was unscriptural in essence, because it included the entire baptized population; trusting to church discipline to raise the general life up to the Gospel level. In this was the same mistake as that made by the papal system, which, with no difference in this vital respect, other than one of name, it was seeking to supplant.

A few thinking men lost patience altogether. They thought the church with its gross abuses so corrupt that

they openly preached separation from it as the only remedy. In 1580 Robert Browne, with his friend Robert Harrison, put himself at the head of this party. Robert Browne, born 1549, chaplain to the duke of Norfolk, when at Cambridge, became imbued with Puritan principles, on account of which as early as 1571, he had already been summoned for trial. The first complaints against him as a Brownist, were lodged with Lord Burghley by the Bishop of Norwich, April 19 and August 2, 1581.

Robert Harrison, in the Queen's proclamation of 1583 (erroneously called "Richard Harrison), because a student at the University of Cambridge in 1564, took his degree of bachelor in 1567, graduated in 1572, and in 1573 was appointed master of the grammar school at Aylsham in Norfolk. shortly after he was dismissed for having desired a change in the mode of baptism, when he was standing as godfather. Returning to Cambridge, he met Browne again, who, since 1570, had been a student there.

The two men agreed most harmoniously. The tie of their attachment was further strengthened, when Browne, who had recently scrupled to be made pastor by the bishop, in the usual manner, was in Norfolk in the very circle within which Harrison had grown up and both were "verie forward" in the reformation of the church.

Browne considered it a duty, that, as "open and abominable wickedness" was in the parishes in Cambridge under the anti-Christian control of the bishops, "everie true Christian was to leave such parishes and to seek the Church of God wheresoever." No sooner was Harrison appointed teacher at a hospital in Norwich than Browne left for that place to reside with him.

In 1571 no fewer than 2925 Dutch and Walloon* or Bel-

* This word, Walloon, means pilgrim, stranger, exile or foreigner—the same root being in the word walnut, Wales, Wallachia (and by euphonic change) Galatians. The Walloons furnished the first settlers who were home makers in New York and the Middle States. See "Story of New Netherland," pp. 22-27 and "Belgium, the Land of Art."—(Ed.)

gian Protestant people were established at Norwich. Among the Dutch Mennonites, who had fled thither from the persecutions in their own country, a new mode of thinking respecting the spirit and organization of the Christian Church or congregation was brought home to Browne. As his new views were perfectly similar to that of these foreigners, it is evident that he acquired them from these Mennonites.

Browne, however, did not think it advisable to own to full facts in that case when he published his "True and short declaration, 1584," lest he might, in addition to ever so many gibes, be reproached with the appellation of "Anabaptist."*

It was then, indeed, that Browne heard, for the first time what the Mennonites had proclaimed more than half a century earlier. In substance the Mennonite belief is this: Every true believer has not only the right but is even sacredly bound to form a church wheresoever he has found none to join. Such churches should be utterly free and independent associations, subject to no power whatever, but to that of Jesus Christ alone. They were authorized in the New Testament to elect their own pastors, elders and deacons without anybody's interposition. All faithful people were equal in rank, and every hierarchical distinction came of evil. In a word, Browne found among these people the complete practice of what afterwards was termed in England "Congregationalism." They were Free Churchmen. Besides, he got to know their views on God's Kingdom, as being one with the visible church; the purity of manners they exacted from the faithful; and the discipline with the

* This seems to be a sufficient explanation and proof of my belief expressed as early as 1891, of the fact that Browne learned from the Dutch in Norwich; otherwise attempted to be explained by Dr. H. M. Dexter in his "Congregationalism" but apparently accepted by the late Professor Williston Walker, with whom I talked on this question.—ED.

non-intercourse and excommunication resulting from this view.

It is not surprising that just as the first Baptists stood towards Rome, so Browne very soon stood towards the Church of England. In his eyes it was a Babylon, a kingdom of Satan, and communion with it was an abomination to him.

This was the origin of the Separatists or separated Puritans ; or, as called after him, of that of the "Brownists," or as later called Congregationalists, or Free Churchmen.

CHAPTER II

THE BROWNISTS FLEE INTO THE DUTCH REPUBLIC

✓ **T**HE Brownists had at first but one congregation. It was at Norwich. According to George Johnson, Hunter was its pastor, at the beginning of the seventeenth century. But even this single church was objectionable to the State Churchmen. They did not rest till Browne and his followers were hunted out of the country. Except the few, of necessity compelled to stay, the rest, some fifty or sixty, fled with Browne and Harrison to Middelburg, in the autumn of 1581 (and not in 1585, as Price says in his "History of Nonconformity," nor in 1584, as stated in Hanbury's Memorials).

At Middleburg they found their former teacher Cartwright at the head of the congregation of the English merchants. No durable union with these could be expected.

This is clear from the number of writings which they published in the Republic in which Hanbury was free and which were as well hostile to their persecutors as to Cartwright's partisans. The publisher was Richard Schilders, or as placed on the title-page Richard Paynter, which is the English translation of the Dutch name.

These writings are : "A treatise for reformation, without tarying for anie, and for the wickednesse of those Preachers which will not reforme till the Magistrate commande or compell them" (18 pages);—"A Booke which sheweth the life and manners of all true Christians, and how unlike they are unto Turks and Papistes and Heathen folke" (111 pages);—"A treatise upon the 23 of Matthewe, both for an order of studying and handling the scriptures, and also avoyding the Popishe disorders and ungodly com-

munion of all false Christians, and especiallie of wicked Preachers and hirelings" (44 pages;—all three in quarto and published at Middleburg and written by Robert Browne.

Further; "A little Treatise upon the firste verse of the 122 Psalm. Stirring up unto carefull desiring and dutifull labouring for true Church Government" (VI and 24 page 16°);—and "A letter intercepted from R. H. one of Browne's faction discovering in part his great disliking of the Browne's schismatical practises," in 8°,—both dated 1583 and written by Robert Harrison.

To this last letter Cartwright answered with: "An answere unto a letter of Master Harrisons" (see Brook, Cartwright page 304), to which Browne replied: "An answere to Master Cartwright his letter, for joiningy with the English Churches."

Collier, Brook and Hanbury represent that the Brownists at first joined Cartwright's church, but separated from it afterwards. In Cartwright's letter of 1583 we read: "Your first page had raysed me unto some hope for the reuniting* of your selfe with the rest of your Company unto us."

The new congregation at Middelburg was not hindered by the magistrates in the exercise of its religious worship, though the members were not allowed to do so publicly, or to propagate their doctrines. This was not ever granted to the Puritans, according to the records of the consistory of the Reformed Church at Middelburg, March 21 and 28 and

*Now mark: not uniting but reuniting. All the same, Dexter (Congregationalism, p. 75 note 71) denies it. However this may be, I shall not decide between them. I shall only say that they joined Cartwright's church, but for a short time. The great prejudices they had against Cartwright, growing out of his not withdrawing from a Church so very corrupt and so totally destitute of discipline as the English one, had not died away.

May 2, 1592. These strangers must worship in private houses.*

From another side, the existence of the Brownists was endangered. Internal dissensions arose. The rigid practice of strict discipline, or rather Browne's violent temper and arrogance, were the cause. Provoked by the opposition he met, and at the instigation of his wife, thrice, within two years, he threw up his ministry, each time yielding to the entreaties of his partisans to fill it again.

Harrison, teacher of the church of which Cartwright had said: "I shall willingly hearken unto any, much more unto you, upon whom the Lord in mercy hath bestowed good graces, showing better things," was, in Browne's eyes, too moderate.

Harrison had the largest number of adherents. Only four or five families joined Browne, when, about December 1583, he left for Scotland where he remained fully two years (and not simply three months, as Stillingfleet, in his "Unreasonableness of Separation," misstates.)

Thenceforward Browne travelled up and down Scotland and England, preaching where he could obtain hearers. On these journeys, he underwent imprisonment no fewer than thirty-two times.

At length his influential family and friends, whose intercessions from time to time procured his release, despaired of

* The following is the text of the Memorial bronze tablet in the English Church edifice in Middelburg.

1582

ONE IN CHRIST

1913

To . the . glory . of . the . Triune . God
In honor of . William . of Nassau and . the . hospitable city
of . Middelburg and to the . founders . of

Modern . Congregational . Order

Browne . Cartwright . Harrison

The . Congregational . Sunday . Schools . of . the . United
States . of . America . gratefully . rear . this . Memorial

September 1913

protecting him any longer. Excommunication followed in 1586.

It was about that same time, or somewhat later, that he all at once changed his side.*

The fruitlessness of his efforts, perhaps still more than the alluring proposals of his considerable family, actuated him to abandon suddenly the cause which he had so strenuously defended, and to recant all his opinions.

The loss of the perfidious apostate ** was no heavy blow to his adherents in England. More than ever they now avoided the name of Brownists, while in the meantime more learned and more serious persons joined them. Soon after this their number increased to twenty thousand, as Sir Walter Raleigh stated in Parliament, February 1592. Even Shakespeare "played to the galleries" in mention of them disparagingly.

On the other hand, the fury of opposition increased too. To the demand of many members of Parliament to inquire into the lawfulness of the persecutions against the Puritans, Elizabeth responded by ordering, 1592, a bill of coercion to be brought in.

It was enacted, that any person above the age of sixteen, who refused to attend public worship during the space of a month, or who induced others to doubt of the supremacy of the Queen in ecclesiastical affairs, or who dissuaded any one to frequent the church, or to partake at the communion table, and who himself attended religious assemblies others than those of the Episcopal Church, should be committed to prison. The delinquent should, within three months, solemnly recant his sentiments, confess his errors, and sub-

* Dexter, (Congregationalism p. 81) says, that he was already made master of Saint Olave's grammar school, November 21, 1586, but Waddington (Congregational History, p. 23) assigns February 2, 1589, as the date.

** Dexter's judgment on Browne is more favorable, rather too favorable, I think.

mit himself implicitly, or otherwise adjure the realm, and if he returned, he should suffer death.

This statute was a forceful weapon in the hands of the ecclesiastical commissioners. Numerous imprisonments were shortly followed by trials for treason and leze majesty, of which the Brownists were accused, because of their non-conformity with the Episcopal Church.

The prisons were soon full of Brownists confined for two, and some even for four or five years. A few died there of exhaustion and want. On one single day, April 5, 1593, above fifty-six were thrown into prison, among whom was their pastor, Francis Johnson, their teacher, John Greenwood and their elder Daniel Studley.

A petition for an open disputation, to defend their views, was contemptuously refused. Nor was this even granted to Henry Barrowe, one of the prominent and most learned among the Brownists. A supplication to be admitted to bail, according to their right of citizenship, in order to meet the needs of wives and children, was also ineffective.

At length, as the poor prisoners persisted in their convictions, and as temptations and menaces were equally powerless, the commissioners resolved on making an example. The bishops were more inclined to do so, as they were very desirous of displaying their power, and authority before the members of parliament, many of whom still doubted the legality of the commissioners' rights.

On April 6, Barrowe and Greenwood, and on May 29, 1593, John Penry were put to death, accused of high treason. Poor men ! They never meddled with politics and never asked anything of the State. On the contrary, they always displayed a most disinterested zeal for the welfare of their country. They were ready, as they said, to shed their blood in defence against the Pope and the King of Spain.

John Penry, expecting that, after his death, his followers would be either scattered or perhaps banished, wrote a

parting letter in the following terms: "And my good brethren, seeing banishment with loss of goods is likely to betide you all, prepare yourselves for this hard entreaty, and rejoice that you are made worthy for Christ's cause to suffer and bear all these things. And I beseech you, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, that none of you in this case look upon his particular estate, but regard the general state of the Church of God, that the same may go and be kept together, whithersoever it shall please God to send you.*

"Let not those of you, that either have stocks in your hands, or some likely trades to live by, dispose of yourselves where it may be most commodious for your outward estate, and in the meantime suffer the poor ones, that have no such means, either to bear the whole work upon their weak shoulders, or to end their days in sorrow and mourning for want of outward and inward comforts in the land of strangers. But consult with the whole church. Yea, with the brethren of our places how the church may be kept together, and built, whithersoever they go. Let not the poor and the friendless be forced to stay behind here, and to break a good conscience for want of your support and kindness unto them, that they may go with you.

"And there I humbly beseech you—not in any outward regard, as I shall answer before my God—that you would take my poor and desolate widow, and my mess of fatherless and friendless orphans with you into exile, whithersoever you go; and you shall find, I doubt not, that the blessed promises of my God, made unto me and mine, will accompany them, and even the whole church for their sakes."

* The first "Pilgrim Father" was the martyr, John Penry, the Welshman. In his letter we have the first intimation of the emigration of the Free Churchman, who became the "Pilgrim Fathers," a term first used in the year 1797.—ED.

To his wife he wrote :

“ 6th of the 4th Month of April, 1593

“ I am ready, pray for me, and desire the church to pray for me, much and earnestly. The Lord comfort thee; be not dismayed, I know not how thou dost for outward things, but my God will provide. My love be with thee, now and ever, in Jesus Christ. I besought the church to take my poor or desolate widow, and my mess of fatherless and friendless orphans with you into exile, withersoever you go or commanded them to Him who will hear their cry, for He is merciful.”

His daughter, Deliverance, indeed, resided some time with Francis Johnson. She married May 14, 1611, at Amsterdam.

Occasion soon appeared for these persecuted people to take John Penry's wise advice. True, after the execution of the three martyrs a great many prisoners regained their liberty. But the severity, with which the Johnson's and others were treated in prison clearly showed the bishops to be quite serious, when threatening to remand all liberated persons, who neglected to attend the State Church or continued their conventicles.

CHAPTER III

THE EXILED BROWNISTS IN THE DUTCH REPUBLIC

HENRY AINSWORTH, a young man of only twenty-two years, who by his own statement was born at Swanton—probably Swanton near Norwich—put himself at the head of the fugitive Free Churchmen. Fletcher (“History of Independence,” vol. II, page 209) misstates that Francis Johnson was the leader, and that in the course of a short time after Johnson’s settlement in Holland, Henry Ainsworth joined him. The fact is, that Johnson was then still in prison, and that he was not at Amsterdam till 1597, four years after Ainsworth’s arrival there.

Despite his early age, Ainsworth proved to be, by his foresight, by his excellent care for the brethren and by strength of purpose, fully qualified for his difficult task. He fixed on Amsterdam as place of settlement.

Fletcher again falls into a mistake when informing us (vol. II, page 209) that Amsterdam, Rotterdam, the Hague, Leyden and Utrecht were the principal cities of refuge for the persecuted exiles. Now in 1593, Amsterdam was the only one; Leyden not till 1608. Of the other places named no record is extant. Of Campen and Naarden more anon.

Why was Amsterdam chosen? Were they still in fresh memory of the difficulties met by Browne at Middelburg? In all probability, they were informed of the forbearance of burgomaster Cornelis Pieterszoon Hooft and of the other Amsterdam magistrates, who promised them more liberties than they enjoyed in Zealand, at least afterwards. Joseph Hall (“A common apology of the Church of England,” page 124) says:—“hearing, both at Middleburgh and here, that certain companies from the parts of Nottingham and Leicester, whose harbingers had been newly in Zealand before me, meant to retire themselves to Amsterdam *for their full liberty.*”

It may also be, that it had come to their ears, that Amsterdam, envious of the benefits which the Middelburg trade was reaping, an account of the English merchants or adventurers dwelling there, was desirous of bringing in an industrious population of Englishmen. Moreover the recent extension of the town in 1593, enabled Amsterdam to accommodate all the newcomers.

Of the attempts to draw these English exiles into Amsterdam we read in Bentivoglio's *Relazione di Fiandra* :—“sono quasi tutti d' Puritani d' Inghilterra, che per occasione di commercio frequentan l' Ollanda e le altre Provincie unite. I Puritani Inglesi sono in Amsterdam quasi tutti per l'istesso rispetto, e se ne trattengono alcuni medesimamente per occasione di mercantia nella città di Middelburgo in Zelanda.”

Yet the right of residence in Amsterdam was something to be asked for beforehand. The Reformed ministers took the lead in reminding them thereof :—“non ex ullo pravo adversus illos affectu,” as these ministers maintain in the “*Epistolae ecclesiasticae et theologicae*,” and surely, not in a very friendly way. No sooner, indeed, had the Brownists became intimate with one Israel Janszoon of Amsterdam, and made arrangements for the regular exercise of their public worship in his house, than the Reformed minister Jacob Arminius on July 8, 1593, gave notice to the Consistory.

Being considered a matter of high importance, which should not be connived at, Arminius was ordered to reprimand and keep a strict hand over Israel Janszoon, so as to stop all further assemblies. (See Protocol of the said Consistory,* II, 1589-1597, folio 114 and 115.)

* Consistory is the name and title of the governing board of “minister, elders and deacons” of a Reformed Dutch Church; which was adopted very early in the history, even in the days of persecution, of these “churches in the Netherlands sitting under the cross.” William the Silent thought it too ambitious, and too much like the papal court of the same name. It is still the highest unit of authority in the local church. The Great Consistory includes all living office holders, present or past.—ED.

The Consistory even gave information of this matter to the magistrate :—“ Nos enim cum eos huc appulisse et conventus agere intellexissemus, officii nostri fuisse existimavimus et illos monere, ne quid absque Magistratus venia hic tentarent et simul Magistratui indicium de illorum conventibus facere.” (Epistolae eccl. et theol. page 79 B).

Moreover, questions about the principles of religion were propounded to the exiles, and to their persecutors in England while to the Dutch Church in London* application was made for information. More than this. The vigilance of the Amsterdam Consistory was, indeed not yet laid to sleep.

Very interesting was a placard from the rival city of Campen, which was posted in several places in Amsterdam and which read :

“ In the year 1592, on the fifth of December, it has pleased the burgomasters, aldermen, council and jury, that all persons of what nation soever, who, from this time forth, between this day and May of the year ninety four, take their abode and settle down in this city of Campen, to exercise and practice their handicraft, trade and traffic, shall enjoy, without and within the jurisdiction of this City, at sea and on land, the same rights of citizenship and privileges as are now enjoyed by all other citizens, without paying any compensation for it,” etc. Book of Resolutions (Records) of that City, 1587-1612 folio 16).

To cause this publication to be known widely, seven hundred copies of it were printed, as entered in the municipal accounts.

According to John Payne, some Brownists availed themselves of this invitation. It was bruited abroad and again the Amsterdam Consistory interfered and wrote an admoni-

* Still in active existence at Austin Friars, off Bishopgate Street, to whom the editor owes thanks for a copy to their printed records, sent him in 1921.—ED.

tion to the Reformed at Campen. In aforesaid protocol (folio 118, September 2, 1593) we read : "Whereas it was learned that some Englishmen have settled down in Campen, and were received by the magistrate of Campen, with civility and kindness, and whereas it was learned that they are in England Schismatics, called Baroister (Barrowists), who also sometimes repair to foreign parts, it has been agreed to inform thereof the consistory, without any delay, and to order Arminius to do so."

No choice was left to the English exiles in Amsterdam. They could only petition for the right of residence, and leave Amsterdam at once, till a favourable answer had come in. The petition referred to the "consensus in doctrine," certainly not as to the order of their church, etc., but "in doctrina" with the Reformed in Holland. (*Epistolae eccl. et theol.* II, page 79^B.)

The exiles set forth for Naarden. In said "Epistolae" we read, that the Church was at Naarden before it came to Amsterdam. Hence they are called in the records of the Holland Reformed congregation, October 12, 1595, and of the Walloon church, February 12, 1596 : "the English of Naarden ;" "les Anglais de Naarden." This, too, accounts for the gifts the magistrate of Naarden sent for the benefit of the Amsterdam Brownists, in 1595.

It is not surprising that the Reformed ministers were consulted about the matter. These furnished the information they had from England, including the highly unfavorable and partial one of the Church of England.

The Reformed ministers of Amsterdam finding the burgomasters averse to any persecutions, thought proper to assume an expectant attitude. This was done so that they might afterwards be able when the English were allowed to settle down in Amsterdam to say that it was not granted "invitis ministris," and that they had never had the intent to make opposition to it. All the same, Ainsworth and his

partisans maintained, and that rightly, that they owed the grant exclusively to the magistrate.

At length, they had found a safe place of refuge. They established themselves by preference in the new part of Amsterdam, extend along the Inner-Amstel (Binnen-Amstel) from the old Reguliers Gate (Munt (mint) tower) to the Blue Bridge and the adjacent low land neighbourhood near the city-walls, now called Rembrandt Plain (Square*) and Amstel Street.

After having made from England all preparations and arrangements for the departure of these exiles, Ainsworth joined the Brownists in Ireland, remaining only for a short time. He came out of Ireland, with other poor, to unite himself permanently with his fellow-believers at Amsterdam.

Soon after beginning his services as teacher of the congregation, Ainsworth's eminent talents displayed themselves. He was a man of extensive knowledge, though he seems not to have been educated in a university. Roger Williams, in his book, "The Bloody Tenant of Persecution for cause of Conscience Discussed" says of him: "that most despised (while living) and now much honored Mr. Ainsworth, had scarce his peere amongst a thousand Academians for the Scripture Originalls, and yet he scarce set foot within a Colledge walls." His profound knowledge of the Hebrew language is exhibited in his exposition of the Pentateuch (1616-1619), of the Psalms, (1612, reprinted 1617). and of the song of Solomon,** which appeared in 1623 and after his death.

Ainsworth's works were collected in a folio edition in 1627 and reprinted in 1639. According to John Robinson, a

* Where in 1906, at the Tecentenary of the great artist of Puritanism, who was a neighbor of the Pilgrim Fathers in Leyden, the wreaths of artists from all over the world were laid on his statue, the author being present.—ED.

** Ainsworth's scholarly writings were frequently consulted by the makers of the Revised version of 1870-'84.—ED.

commentary on Hosea, notes on the Gospel according to St. Matthew, and on the Epistle to the Hebrews, which Ainsworth left at his death, in manuscript, were not published owing to disagreement about remuneration.

Nor were Ainsworth's abilities less appreciated by some in the University of Leyden, who were eminent in the knowledge of ancient tongues. They said, they thought he had not his superior in the Hebrew language in the university, nor scarce in Europe.

Even in France justice was done to his acquirements. In Moréri, *Grand Dictionnaire historique* Ainswoith is called : “célèbre commentateur de l'Écriture sainte.”* William Bradford, a man of like spirit with Ainsworth, states : “He had an excellent gift of teaching and opening the Scriptures ; and things did flow from him with that facility, plainness and sweetness, as did much affect the hearers. He was powerful and profound in doctrine and had his excellency above many, that he was most ready and pregnant in the Scriptures, as if the book of God had been written in his heart ; being as ready in his quotations, without tossing and turning his book, as if they had laid open before his eyes, and seldom missing a word in the citing of any place, teaching not only the word and doctrine of God, but in the words of God, and for the most part in a continued phrase and words of Scripture. He used great dexterity and was ready in comparing Scripture with Scripture, one with another.”

For his character, Bradford further bestows on him still more praise : “He was a man very modest, amiable and sociable in his ordinary course and carriage, of an innocent and unblamable life and conversation, of a meek spirit, and a calm temper, and not easily provoked. And yet he would

* Another French author splits Ainsworth's personality in two the awful heretic and the mighty scholar, though there was but one Ainsworth Free Churchman and learned Christian.—ED.

be something smart in his style to the opposer in his public writings ; at which we that have seen his constant carriage, both in public disputes and the managing of all church affairs and such like occurrences, have sometimes marvelled. In a word, a man of thousand."

Let those who take this for an exaggerated eulogy, on the part of a most faithful friend, compare it with the judgment of men of a quite different disposition. One of his bitterest foes, who spares no words to charge him with ignorance and unfitness, owns that numerous Christians in England, living in his former place of abode, highly honored him for his unblamable life and still prayed to God for his return to the church.

Another testimony from a former friend of his is this : "As to his (Ainsworth) life, I have myself seen, when living with him some time at Amsterdam, how very modest and amiable he was ; he lived and died unblamable, and I am thoroughly persuaded that his soul rests with his Saviour."

It is not surprising that a man of such a character did not scruple to attend, twice or three times, before his departure to Holland, the divine service in the Church of England, to hear some celebrated and pious men preach. This was, however, highly disapproved of by his most rigid fellow-believers. In 1618, John Paget reproaches him with : "being separated, you did againe in London, being in the hands of authoritie, yield to joyne with the worship and ministry of the Church of England."

Nor is it surprising that a man of his modesty should conceal his wants from his fellow-refugees. He had to go through great hardships in the beginning of his settlement at Amsterdam. With no knowledge of the Dutch language, and not bred to a trade, he had not the wherewithal to live. He was, accordingly, glad to become a porter to a bookseller at nine pence a week. He could now regale himself

with a plain hodge-podge.* At last members of his church found out what cares he had. From that moment better days came. The bookseller, too, before long, valued and highly appreciated his extraordinary abilities.

Yet Ainsworth was not the only one among these English exiles, who was in distress for money and the necessities of life. Their property in England had been distrained or reduced to what was next to nothing by their repeated imprisonments and persecutions. The ministers of the church wrote in 1599, to Francis Junius : “*misereat te oramus ecclesiae nostrae hic exulantis, probris ubique affectae, profunda inopia fere exesae, pene ab omnibus spretae et afflictae.*”

Twenty, and still more years after, some had to apply for relief. It seems that these charities were distributed in the [English] Presbyterian Church on the Begynhof.** On ac-

* Dutch hutspot—usually a stew of left overs from previous meals, most often of meat and vegetables, but usually of such ingredients unknown, it may be, to the eater (like a Cornwall pie) that the Dutch have proverbs relating to its miscellaneous composition.—ED.

**Where in 1909, a Tablet was placed, and in 1920 a memorial window was unveiled in honor of the Pilgrim Fathers. The text of the tablet reads:

ONE IN CHRIST

1609—FROM . SCROOBY . TO . AMSTERDAM—1909

AINSWORTH . JOHNSON . ROBINSON . BREWSTER . BRADFORD
BY . A . JOINT . CONSENT . THEY . RESOLVED . TO
GO . INTO . THE . LOW . COUNTRIES
WHERE . THEY . HEARD . WAS . FREEDOM . OF . RELIGION . FOR . ALL . MEN
AND LIVED AT AMSTERDAM
GOVERNOR . WILLIAM . BRADFORD :
HISTORY . OF . PLYMOUTH . PLANTATION
IN . GRATEFUL . REMEMBRANCE . AND . IN . CHRISTIAN . BROTHERHOOD
THE . CHICAGO . CONGREGATIONAL . CLUB
REAR . THIS . MEMORIAL
A.D. 1909

count of which John Paget in his “An arrow against the separation of the Brownists, 1618,” with which he reproaches—“the members of your church receive the alms of the Dutch, which is a sacrifice (Philippines IV, 18) and this is the same place which you condemn as an idol-temple.”

Fletcher, consequently, misstates that—“the civil authorities tolerated them (viz. the Brownists) but shewed no regard to their welfare.”

The Englishmen, who, according to Pontanus (*Rerum et urbis Amstelodamensium Historia*, 1611, page 95) were granted out-relief, were, no doubt, Brownists.

It would indeed, have gone hard, especially for the aged, to procure the means of their subsistence. Employers and manufacturers alike were reluctant to employ these foreigners ignorant of the Holland language. The younger ones became, for the greater part bombazine weavers, tailors, glovers or button makers—the very professions which were advancing the fortunes of the Dutch and Flemish fugitives residing at London, Norwich and elsewhere. At the comparatively new invention of buttons (buds) these Walloons in the eastern counties of England were making money.

The place of worship for the Brownists in Amsterdam was very humble, being merely a spacious shed, somewhere in a slum, or alley, or blind lane. As their opposer, Bishop J. Hall says it was most likely near the Inner-Amstel, the neighborhood in which most of them were living. Meetings for this purpose were at first kept up at private houses ; at Israel Janszoon’s or Jean de l’Escluse’s.

In the aforesaid protocol of the Reformed Consistory at Amsterdam (11 folio 197) we read that they had learnt, June 13, that at the house of Jean de l’Escluse, the gospel had been preached to the Brownists. This was again immediately brought to the notice of the burgomasters of

Amsterdam. These dismissed the plaintiffs with the reply, that "it will be communicated to those who have to decide in the matter and that it will be settled to the entire satisfaction of the Church." In a word, they intimated that it was not a part of the Reformed Consistory, [to interfere or move in the matter, but of others—the magistrates who were determined to follow in spirit and act on the mandate given to the rulers of Middelburg, which in substance was] "no interference with conscience."

Henceforth in 1577 the Brownists were no more hindered in their religious meetings. It was not, however, until very much later, that the Brownists had a place of worship on the Groeneburgwal,* as Wagenaar in his history of Amsterdam, Vol. II page 174, tells us.**

* Dexter seems puzzled by this statement. See "Congregationalism" page 284, note 129.

** A letter dated March 14, 1912, from the archivist at Middelburg, and Secretary of the Zeeuwisch Genoostetchap der Wetenschappen (Zealand Society of Sciences) of which the editor is an honorary member, gives the orginal text of the full declarations of liberty of conscience from the heart and pen of William the Silent of January 28 and August 1, 1578. This was nearly a generation before Roger Williams was born. On January 1, 1557, the Prince being at Middelburg had given commandment to admit the Anabaptists to citizenship and privileges on their word (instead of their oaths). Later come the proverb "as true as the word of a Mennonite. The editor in 1895 visited the site of Menno Simons' first church edifice in Friesland.—Ed.

CHAPTER IV

THE AMSTERDAM BROWNISTS DECLINE TO JOIN THE REFORMED

ALTHOUGH its external circumstances may have been extremely humble, yet the congregation, presided over by such a man as Ainsworth, was not in danger of being absorbed or broken up.

The Dutch Reformed, as well as the Walloon ministers of Amsterdam, especially Arminius and Taffinus, tried to come to an agreement with the Brownists. They were not even disinclined to admit these into their church congregations, although in the main, they held the same doctrines.

The English exiles, however, probably still suspicious of the Amsterdam ministers, after the hindrance in their religious worship and after the information given against them addressed to the magistrate, adherred tenaciously to the abolition of all set forms of prayers ; to their own mode of baptism, and especially to their practice of church discipline.

Accordingly, the negotiations were broken off. Four or five years after in February, 1599, the Brownists still said of this discourse : “ *cum ministris harum ecclasiarum (viris quidem eruditis et fratribus dilectis) amice egimus,*” while the Reformed themselves declared : “ *Dolenter quidem tulimus istam illorum a nostris ecclesiis sejunctionem, quod et illis coram cum fraterna doloris testificatione significavimus.*”

At that period then, no hope was left of coming “ *favente Deo piisque viris adjuvantibus*” to an agreement. The relations became more and more strained.

In the autumn of 1594 a member of the Walloon-Reformed Church, the aforesaid Jean de l’Escluse native of Rouen, printer by profession, sought to join Ainsworth and his

companions. He was married to Catherine de l'Epine, widow of Anger, who by her first marriage had a daughter, Catherine.

This Catherine, when joined in wedlock, in 1595, had not celebrated her marriage in the Reformed Church. On that occasion her Brownist views came out clearly. Her step-father's identical feelings had already been discussed at the meeting of the Walloon consistory, October 10, 1594. In the *Actes du consistoire*, February 12, 1596, we read : Apres que les deputer ministers et anciens des deux eglises, Flamengue et Wallone, ont eu conferé par plusieurs jours avec Jan de l'Escluse et sa belle fille de tous les poinets et opinions qu'ils tiennent, contraires à la doctrine chrestienne enseignée es eglises reformées, et quils ont eu suffisamment refuté les dites opinions par lescriture saincte, et par arguments et raisons tirees dicelle, iceux demeurants fermes en leurs erreurs, ont este admonestez de bien penser aux choses qui leur avoyent esté alleguées et de prier Dieu quil leur fist la grace de bien entendre sa verité, et d'y acquiescer ensemble, d'adverter messieurs les commissaires des causes matrimonielles du mariage de ladite fille qui avoit esté faict domestiquement entee les amis, contre les loys et ordonnances des Estats et de la ville : afin dy remedier selon ladvise et ordonnanee desdits commissaires, ceque Jan de Lescluse avoit promis de fairè, requerrant la compagnie de rien parler poinct audits commissaires devant eux. Ledit Jan de Lescluse et sa belle fille aiants esté depuis appelez par trois diverses fois au consistoire, est finallement comparu seul le 12 de ferirer 1596 et luy ont este leus tous les articles desquels on avoit duparavant traicté avec luy : afin qu'il declara sans autres disputes en quoy il discordoit d'avec nous. Lesquels articles furent notez en sa presence et luy fut demandé sil avait adverti les commissaires du mariage de sa fille. Il respondit que non, mais quil estoit prest de le faire. Il lui fut demandé, si nonobstant le sentiment qu,

il se disoit avoir contre la forme de prieres, du catechisme et de la discipline en usage à nostre Eglise il vouloit estre recognu pour membre d'icelle, ou s'il vouloit se joindre du tout avec l'Eglise des Anglois de Nerdene, il respondit que sa conscience ne luy permettroit point, de demeurer en nostre Eglise, comme membre dicelle, aussi longuement que nous continurions de prescher en un temple qui a esté consacré aux idoles, et que nous retiendrious l'usage de prier par formulaireo leus ou recitez et denseigner le catechisme, ven qu'il nous en avoit suffissament adverti maintenant."

In addition it was again matter for deliberation at the meetings of the said Consistory, February 13, April 3 and 17, August 28, September 18, October 16 and 23, 1595, and further January 15 and 22, February 5 and 26, March 11, May 6, June 8, 1596, April 19 and 26, May 10, 1599, and November 19, December 3, 1607.

Indeed, the Walloon Consistory was most anxious to keep this man a member of their church and apparently in April, 1595 and in 1599, there was every probability of this being done.

On August 7, 1604, however, l'Ecluse married a Brownist wife. Then it was agreed that "Si Jean de l'Escluse est dispose et desireus de communiquer a la cene lancien luy pourra donner mereau, comme aussi a sa femme." On December 3, 1607, it was, however, shown "que Jean de l'Escluse ne s'est trouvé dispos pour recevoir mereau.

The Dutch Reformed consistory also interferred in the matter, June 6 and 13, 1596. See Protocol II folio 197.

As l'Escluse had formerly been a member of the Walloon church in London, the Amsterdam ministers wrote to that city for information regarding him. At the same time they sent inquiries at Flushing concerning the Brownists. (See actes du consistoire, October 24, 1594)

As before, they applied to the Brownists' most bitter foes, who did not relish it that these poor Christians having

found a “locus quietis et respirationis a magistratibus” in Holland. The replies were very unfavourable. (Epistolae eccl. pages 69^A and 74^B) for the exiles. They are called “chartulae famosae, articuli mendaciis referti.” To this Ainsworth plaintively replied : “imo et aliqui (quos minime omnium decuit) afflictionum nostrorum pondus etiam in his regionibus aggravare tentarunt idque tum secreto tum aperte moliti sunt ; calumniis et quidem gravissimis a nostratis domi lacesisti fuimus sarumque rumor in has etiam regiones nos insectatus est, unde apud multos immerito male audimus. “(Epistol. eccl. et theolog. Pages 65^B and 69^B).

These severe accusations against the Brownists, the Dutch Reformed Consistory kept not for themselves, but communicated them also to the Walloons at Amsterdam. (Actes du consistoire January 22, 1596), and even to their fellow believers at Dordrecht. When the Consistory reminded the English exiles that they should be thankful for the magistrate's protection, this action called forth the true, but tart answer : “Quid? Si articulos plenos mendaciis et calumiis, sparsos vero contra nos, acceperint ministri isti, et nobis tamen eorum exemplar in hunc usque diem non impartiverint, ne rogati quidem?” (Epist. eccl. et theolog. pages 69^B and 74^B.)

The Reformed ministers did not deny it, but tried to justify their conduct by pointing out that Ainsworth and others had first attacked them, in the preface of the Confession of faith and next refused to let them, on application, read these articles.

Surely, all this was not exactly the right way to promote concord.

In fact, the Brownists had much more sympathy with the Mennonites, than with the Reformed. They found they were one in sentiment. The views of both on the origin and organization of the Christian Church ; its absolute autonomy ; its order and government ; the general suffrage of

its members, but above all, its discipline were in substance identical. They had the same almost idolatrous exaltation of scriptures, the same aversion to symbolical books, the same institution of unpaid teachers and pastors, the same tendency to distinguish themselves from other children of the world by simplicity of dress and purity of morals. No one need wonder at this. It was at Norwich that Browne was indoctrinated with these principles.

Between the Mennonites and other Protestant Christian Sects, there is one essential point of difference. The Mennonites baptize only adult persons, who have made a profession of their own faith. This was at first an obstacle which prevented many a Brownist from joining them. But as Ainsworth and his companions held the practice of baptism in the Church of England to be invalid, they could still very well claim baptism under stipulation that it should not be administered to them as infants of believers, but on their own profession of faith.

Indeed, no sooner had the impediment of the foreign language been removed, than several Brownists came over to the Mennonites. It took place at an early date of their settlement, as is shown by John Payne's warnings against the Mennonnites (*Royall exchange,,* Haarlem, Gillis Roman, 1597, 4th, 48 pages; and by Francis Johnson's "Inquiry and Answer, 1606, page 64, where he says: "that it came to pass while he was still imprisoned at London and before the schism in Ainsworth's church." Undoubtedly, Enoch Clapham refers to it in his "Error on the right hand," when saying: "Certain English people of us (Anabaptists) that came out from the Brownists."

Clapham's book was published before June 1608, or several months before John Smyth joined the Anabaptists, so that this statement cannot allude to him.

Ainsworth and his adherents disapproved of that change of religion. They excommunicated the faithless and clung to each other more closely than ever.

CHAPTER V

HENRY AINSWORTH'S CONFESSION OF FAITH

A INSWORTH now felt it a duty, most solemnly binding upon him to defend the congregation against the aspersions cast on it. He would free it of all blame and by means of a confession of faith, plead and justify its separation from the Church of England and legitimate its permanent existence.

Ainsworth and no one else, prepared this confession written in the English language. It was issued in the year 1596 and consisted of forty-five articles, with a preface. At the same time, he published a Dutch edition. Not a single copy of this latter, I think, is left, but that it was actually published, I infer from the words of Taffinus and Arminius, (*Epistol. eccl. et theol.*, page 80^d), which must allude to 1596, when they speak of: “calumnia quam adversus nos publicis typis at *Belgico sermone disseminarunt* in brevi praefatiuncula, quam confessioni suae in *eundem Belgicum sermonem* adeo male, et etiam haeresi occasionem dare posset, *translatae praefixerant*.”

At the time of the publication of Ainsworth's confession of faith, Francis Johnson was still in prison, so that he can not have had a hand in it, as is generally misstated. For instance, in Fletcher, History of Independency, (II, page 215) we find: “It appears that in 1596 Johnson had published the *confession of faith of certain English people living in the Low Countries exiled*. In 1598 this document was republished and afterwards in 1602 it was issued again as the joint production of Johnson and Ainsworth. The latter translated it into the Latin for the benefit of the learned in all countries, and *set it forth in his own name*.

Quite right too! He only was entitled to attach his name to it. It was his own work and that of no one else.

The reprint of 1598 led to the misstatement that Francis Johnson had assisted him.*

This inaccuracy must perhaps be imputed to the fact that a church was not regarded to be truly constituted, when still destitute of a pastor, and that Francis Johnson came to them in 1597. The editions of this confession of faith of a later date, *e. g.*, the Dutch one of 1680, mention on the title-page, that the Congregational old English Congregation and Church of Christ at Amsterdam was gathered in the year 1597. As we have seen, it existed then already four years.

The first eighteen articles of Ainsworth's confession of faith do not differ from the doctrine of the *Confessio Belgica*.** Subsequently, there was confessed in it the doctrine of the trinity, of predestination, of man's fall into sin, of original sin, of universal wickedness, of the divine Word as the only standard of faith, of the person of Christ and his triple office (*munus Christi triplex*), of the Christian church.

Article nineteen and following treat at great length of the five kinds of church-officers: shepherds, teachers, elders, deacons and helps, no more and no fewer, who must be appointed for life and exclusively by the church in which they fill their office; which church has the exclusive right to depose and even to excommunicate them, and to which they should give implicit obedience.

Though there is a lack of definiteness on this point in the

* Dexter (Congregationalism, page 270) is disposed to think that the confession of faith was sent, for revision and correction to Johnson, in prison; in which case the honor of authorship would also partly be due to him; but the correspondence between London and Amsterdam (see Dexter, page 269, note 64) refers, in my opinion, more, if not exclusively, to the choice of elders and to excommunication.

† The Belgic confession is probably the oldest of the Reformed or Protestant confessions brought to and studied in North America—by the Walloons in 1623.—ED

confession, yet it is known from other sources, that the Brownists objected to any temporary appointment to such offices.

Article twenty-eight shows that the Anti-Christian has corrupted and hindered the fundamental articles of the Christian faith, together with the holy ordinances and services of the Church, placing in their stead, a new and adorned religion and "regiment", so that they at last became so confused and perplexed that they have fallen into the Babylonian confusion and bondage. The hierarchy resulting from it in the Church of England is in fact an "anti-christian ministerium," as well for the numerous dignities, as for the power assumed by the so-called high clergy.

Further are enumerated the "rest of the popish corruptions": private baptism, examination of infants who are brought to be baptised, linen surplice of the priests, prayer for the dead at the grave, and kneeling at the sacrament of the Lord's Supper (article thirty). These abuses bind the true believer to renounce all communion with the corrupted church, to assist it in no respect whatever, and to separate from it.

New churches should be founded, of which its members, each in particular, are desired to prophesy, *i. e.*, expound God's Word, and to choose men sufficiently endowed with gifts and learning for such offices and functions, as Christ has instituted for worship and discipline. These may administer baptism and the Lord's Supper. Only the children of believers are to receive baptism at least by one of the parents being in the faith.

In the Lord's Supper, the two elements are to be made use of there being no question either of transubstantiation or consubstantiation—this is the seal of God's everlasting covenant and belongs to all adult members, *viz.*, to those who have been admitted into the church on confession of

faith and at their own desire, and who have promised to walk in the belief and obedience of Christ (Art. 35 and 37).

No member may withdraw on account of corruptions of the church, but should help to reform them (Art. 36).

The various churches are wholly independent of each other, each one as a "well-ordered city," but bound, if need be, to assist one another in word and deed. They have the right to admit, on satisfactory testimonials, members of some other church (Art. 37 and 38).

Articles 39 and 43 enumerate the reciprocal duties of magistrates and subjects. Magistrates are to protect the true believers, to enforce by their laws the pure religion and its strict exercise, to punish offenders, and to extirpate the false-worship, especially by sequestration of all ecclesiastical properties.

(Afterwards most of them altered this opinion and advocated ardently the complete separation of Church and State and a full religious toleration.)

Citizens and subjects, even when the magistrates fail in their duties, or persecute them, are bound, so long as it is not contrary to the commandments of God, to respect and pray for their rulers and above all, in case the magistrates protect and patronize them, to acknowledge it gratefully and to obey them implicitly.

The last article but one, Art. 44, professes the belief in passing from death into a life eternal or into damnation.

Finally, the last Article, 45, refutes the slanderous accusation made against them of denying and despising the Lord's prayer.

"We believe it to be the most perfect and best form of prayer, which even could not be improved by angels, so much the less by men, and was prescribed by our Lord Jesus Christ, not"—showing again their aversion to use it as a set form, for example, at the end of every prayer—"not that we are tied to the exact number of words, but that,

according to its form and spirit, we should be taught to regulate our prayers and thanksgivings, as being the most perfect form of praying.”

These are the main points of the Confession of Faith drawn up by Ainsworth, in defense of his company. Yet to exhibit a true image of that company, to secure a greater exactness concerning the structure of their Church, to trace the consequences of their characteristic opinions, still other stores of informations must be explored.

CHAPTER VI

PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICES OF THE BROWNISTS

BESIDES from their own treatises most of the following information respecting Brownists has been derived from the writing of Honorii Reggii, alias Georgii Hornii, professor first at Harderwijk and afterwards at Leyden. These are “*De Statu ecclesiæ Britannicæ hodierno liber commentarius,*” 1647, and from the “*Historie der Beroerten van Engelandt*” (History of the troubles of England.) The 2nd edition, of 1649, was published anonymously and written by Jacobus Lydius, once pastor of the embassy extraordinary from the Republic of the United Netherlands to England.

In conformity with the Brownists’ views on the organization of the church, the right of voting in the choice of a pastor, and that of excommunication, belonged to all members. Some congregations included also the sisters. This latter opinion or custom, however, was never universal among them. Ainsworth in his “*Animadversion to Clifton’s advertisement,*” 1613, says: “it was never our judgment or practice, that in elections women or children should give their voices, the apostle and nature itself requiring women to be silent in the church” (1 Cor. XIV 34).

No Synod, no classes, nor any ecclesiastical establishment whatever; we hear the Brownists repeatedly say, has power over them. The Lord Jesus Christ alone is the Head. Each district church is autonomous. It stands independently, irresponsible to all external authority.

In the petition presented to King James the First in 1606, they pleaded the right of spiritual administration and government in itself and over itself, by the common and free consent of the people, independently and immediately under Christ. More than this, John Robinson in his “*Jus-*

tification of Separation," 1610, when speaking of the seat of authority, says :—" the Papists plant it in the pope, the protestants in the bishops, the Puritans, as you term the Reformed Churches and those of their mind, in the Presbytery ; we, whom you name : " Brownists " put it in the body of the congregation, the multitude called : " the church."

It is the most solemnly binding duty of all brotherhood to institute a strict and unpartial discipline, if need be, excommunication for all the unworthy, viz., not only for those who are guilty of gross sins, but also for those whose mode of living or dress is wanting in the most rigid simplicity—so betraying a worldly temper.

Should the congregation omit this discipline, it is itself guilty of the sin of the unpunished delinquent, it loses its Christian character, and binds the most faithful among its members to separate. To avoid this omission, each particular congregation ought not to be of a greater number than may ordinarily meet together conveniently in one place, under the audience of one and the same preacher.

In the case of huge and vast flocks the governors cannot take knowledge of the manners of the people, private or public ; no, not so much as of their presence at or absence from the church assembles, whereby what damage comes to true piety, any man may easily conjecture ; and miserable experience makes also too manifest in the Reformed churches. Should, therefore, the number of members exceed a few hundred, it will be desirable to split it up into two or more congregations. Still the more so, as when two or three faithful people do arise, separating themselves from the world into the fellowship of the Gospel, they already are a church truly gathered, though never so weak: No consent of any civil government is thereby needed. Otherwise it would be bringing in Christ by the arm of flesh.

The public worship did not require any particular institution impeding the establishment of a new Church. For the support of a minister or elder, there should not be a fixed stipend, nay, it was not even allowed. They were to be maintained by voluntary contributions of the members. The teachers had to provide for themselves.

A plain, single room; even a barn, was deemed sufficient for their gatherings. In fact, they felt great horror about meeting in one of the former churches of the Roman Catholics. These were but temples of antichrist.

Because of their love of perfect equality, they prohibited their clergymen to wear an official dress, nor could they bear with a pulpit, which they called a privileged tub.

The custom, with the Reformed, to preach by the hour-glass, which, being run out, the sermon must also be at an end, they regarded as binding in the spirit. Indeed, they maintained the liberty to lengthen the divine service in every respect. After the rather long sermon, the Lord's supper was celebrated every Sunday. Long winded extempore praying was substituted for set forms of prayer. The practice was never to read the Bible without expounding it, as being otherwise idle work. Their agreement was to chant the Psalms, only according to the Bible translation * *i.e.*, not versified unchanged and unabridged. These forms and methods took up much time.

Moreover, at the end of what we should call the ordinary religious service two, three or four members might, at their request, speak and, in turn, pronounce a free discourse, or as it was called "prophesy." Discourses and sermon alike were next discussed by any one wishing to do so.

In conclusion, they brought in the laborious and long work of their discipline, for which the whole flock must

* Ainsworth afterwards changed his mind on this point and gave a metrical translation for the use in church, [which came into use by the Pilgrim Fathers in Leyden and Plymouth. This is referred to by Longfellow in his Courtship of Miles Standish and has been in part republished by Professor Waldo Pratt of Hartford. Conn.]—ED.

stay, till they had heard debated and discussed every cause that concerned either the officers or any of the people, either in doctrine or manners. No wonder, that this became the occasion of endless debate and of many contentions !

As to the duration of the whole service, we read in a letter of Hugh and Anne Bromhead, published by Hunter in his "Collections concerning the founders of New Plymouth," page 179 :—"this morning exercise begins at eight of the clock and continueth unto twelve of the clock. The like course and exercise is observed in the afternoon from two of the clock unto five or six of the clock."

Their exaltation of the Bible, including the Old Testament, led them to require, agreeably to the Mosaic law, capital punishment for adultery, blasphemy, sabbath-breaking and idolatry ; but they held it unlawful to inflict that punishment in the case of simple theft. A few among them afterwards, almost three centuries in advance of their age, got to understand that capital punishment was not at all justifiable.*

The Sabbath or Sunday, they observed with the utmost rigor. In direct opposition, they rejected any observance of Christmas, Easter, Whitsuntide, or Ascension-day, on the ground that celebrations of these are enjoined on no higher authority than that of men.

Upon this point, they accordingly conformed to the Dordrecht Provincial Synod of 1574. This Synod, too, desired that Sunday alone should be set apart, and that all other holy-days should be abolished. And yet within twenty years, the Reformed Church yielded to the force of custom and never rejected festivals or holy-days.

Some of the Separatists so exaggerated their appreciation of the Scriptures as to consider the Bible as the only book

* Capital punishment was abolished in the Netherlands two generations ago—followed by improvement in public morals.—ED.

requisite for the study of theology. Nevertheless the writings of the Brownists show conclusively that most of them had also profited greatly by perusing the works of secular authors. No other book, they said, can approach the Bible, nor may claim similar authority. Hence they repudiated not only the use of the catechism but even held that the twelve Articles of Religion (the Apostles' creed) to be an old patchwork of a bad stuff, of which particularly the article of the going down of Christ into Hell was blasphemous.

To their horror of all heathen remnants, is attributable their replacing the names of days and months by numerical terms, as : the first month, the second day, etc.

Their anti-hierarchical spirit led them to reject all academical degrees and titles; while their opposition to the Romish church-customs exhibited itself in their aversion to bell-tolling : a human and popish innovation of pope Sabinianus; to the precept—though never practised at Amsterdam—to wear the hat when partaking at the Lord's Supper ; and perhaps too, in their opinion, on marriage and funerals. Concerning the last two points other reasons are given.

Marriage, they maintained is simply a civil affair, within the prerogative of the magistrate. Before the whole congregation, God's blessing may and should be implored on the couple, but the marriage was not to be solemnized nor confirmed in the Church. However, in the eighth article of Francis Johnson, against the Reformed Church we read :—" Is it not better to be married in the congregation with prayers and God's blessing pronounced upon them by the minister, than to be contracted privately and entered unto a booke, as men do horses in Smithfield?"

Finally, neither churches nor churchyards, that is the grounds adjoining the church, were to be used for burying the dead. Corpses should be interred outside in the open fields, lest there might be injury to the public health.

So far the statement of their principles and practices to the world outside! Inside, in the meantime a deplorable schism endangered the small congregation. This took place about 1596, or somewhat earlier. According to Francis Johnson it happened during his imprisonment in London, consequently before April, 1597, and after several of the Separatists had joined the Mennonites. It may, therefore, already have been in 1595. Page 64 of his "Inquiry and Answer" states :—"Then a while after that again, many others, some older, some younger, even too many, though not the half, as I understood, fell into a schism from the rest, and so many of them as continued therein were cast out, divers others of them repenting and returning before excommunication and divers of them after."

The real causes of this division and what the dispute turned upon are not apparent, but may easily be guessed. Now again, as is generally the case, the sad consequences of incessant persecution for religious principles operated even on those sufferers who finally escaped from it. The relative quiet of their asylum did not satisfy them. They were still always in a morbid state of excitement, brought by former anxieties and sufferings. The nervous system in a great many instances was upset by imprisonment in filthy dungeons. For years accustomed to defend their conviction, the spirit of opposition had not yet spent itself.

For want of external opposition in such cases internal discord arises. It seems as if no good could come of tranquil internal piety, which, according to their morbid ideas eats out the growth, if not the life of religion. By forcing various voluntary stipulations—the more rigid the better—they find another martyrdom. Intolerance stimulates their feverish zeal.

Such was the case with many a member of Ainsworth's congregation. It is, therefore, not strange that differences arose between the older and the younger members. Nearly

a moiety of them was hostile to Ainsworth and his faithful adherents.

It is owing to his tact that peace was restored. He conducted discipline and by adopting that course actually recalled several to themselves. On the other hand, he won a very few by showing lenity to penitent persons. He even facilitated the return of repentant offenders, even when they had been excommunicated.

CHAPTER VII

FRANCIS JOHNSON A BROWNIST

THE wound was healed and the past sufferings had been almost forgotten, when, in the autumn of 1597, the revived and again flourishing congregation was surprised to see some persons arrive, who had been formerly known intimately in England. Several of them, indeed, had been members of the congregation at Islington, the London suburb, which had in 1593 been scattered by persecution.

As we have already seen, John Greenwood, who died April 6, the death of a martyr, had been the minister, Daniel Studley its elder, and Francis Johnson the pastor or shepherd of this congregation.

Francis Johnson, son of John * Johnson of Richmond, Yorkshire, born 1561, studied with his younger brother George at Christ's College, Cambridge. There, under influence of Cartwright, the Puritan principles had taken a deep hold on his mind. On January 6, 1588, he preached from I Peter V 1-4, a sermon on the eldership. In this he spoke most strongly in defiance of the Queen's ecclesiastical authority.

At this the whole University was agitated and alarmed. In spite of the patronage of Chancellor Lord Burghley, he was, on October 30, 1589, expelled from the University ; and, when appealing to this sentence, he was committed to strict custody. Before giving up this appeal, the chancellor released him, perhaps under condition of his leaving England, for awhile, at least.

Johnson repaired to Carrwright's old congregation, that of the English merchants at Middelburg, and became its

* Contrary to Brook, Puritans II, 99, Fletcher, Independency, II, 210 and J. Hunter, Founders of Plymouth, page 47 ; Dexter, Congregationalism, page 264 calls the father Jacob.

pastor at the, for that time, rather high stipend of twenty-four hundred guilders (£200) a year.

In his "History of the Scottish Church at Rotterdam" W. Stevens appears to have been ignorant of this fact. The list of pastors presents us, page 315, with the name of Cartwright and of Hugh Broughton, but omits that of Francis Johnson, and erroneously enters Henry Jacob among the Brownists. The succession was: Cartwright till 1585, Dudley Fenner, Francis Johnson in 1590 and 1591, Henry Jacob perhaps from 1597 or 1598. The latter was probably succeeded by Thomas Pott, who in the records of the Middelburg congregation, 1624, is called "anciently pastor of the merchants here," and to whom perhaps refers the gravamen of the classis of Walcheren, July 11, 1602:—"whither it were not advisable and needful to the uniformity of doctrine that English servants, who receive a call to their congregations in Holland, should deliver a statement of their faith and life from the place they left to the classics within which their new congregation comes."

Pott was still pastor at Middelburg January 18, 1607, when the Amsterdam Consistory (see Protocol III, folio 156) resolved to apply to him for information as to whether he knew something about the dismissal of Mr. Paget. He next became pastor to the garrison at Flushing and afterwards to the Presbyterians in Amsterdam. His son married the daughter of the famous Dutch admiral DeRuyter. Thomas Pott was perhaps succeeded by Hugh Broughton, who returned to England in 1611, where he died in 1612. According to Stevens, Broughton was succeeded by John Forbes, who removed with the "merchant adventurres" to Delft in 1621. A couple of years afterwards the Presbyterians formed their congregation at Middelburg.

Francis Johnson's former zeal, which excited the respect of the congregation, did not slumber. He used great exertions to obtain full liberty of religious worship; but in vain.

The Consistory's records of the Reformed congregation at Middelburg having, to all appearance, reference to what happened a couple of years earlier, report thereof as follows : “at the request of the elders of the English Church within Middelburg, we, the undersigned, declared never to have communicated, moved thereto by reasons, with Francisco Johnson, minister of the English Church, so much less prohibited him to preach. The fact was this : Whereas the elders of the church, among other communications, informed the committee of the Consistory of this place of their intention, founded on strong reasons, to insist with the magistrate on their being allowed to preach publicly, it is therefore that they were prayed, not commanded, to keep silent, hoping all will be settled ere long. Now as mention is made of keeping silent, the deputies thought they had to refrain from preaching altogether. Meanwhile they held that also mention was made of the secret preaching, with a view to extend the order of March 21, 1592.”

Indeed, on that day four members of the Consistory were sent to confer with the English Consistory upon their secretly preaching.

Nor was Johnson's warm complexion cooled. It is shown by the dissents which very soon divided his congregation into two parties. Reference to this, is found in the Consistory's records of the Reformed Congregation at Middelburg, March 28, 1592 :—“it will be attempted to persuade both parties of the English Church to submit their matter of dispute to the judgment of the classis of Walcheren.”

Francis Johnson, I think, harboured a great antipathy to the separatists, who a couple of years back gathered a church under Robert Browne. After his departure, in 1583, it was entrusted to the care of Robert Harrison. Certain it is, that the latter died before 1608, the precise date being, however, unknown. In Ainsworth's “Counterpoyson,” 1608, we find :—“Mr. Harrison returned not into

your Church of England, but died at Middelburg in this faith, that we profess."

Was Hendrick Janss. Harrison, the editor of the works of Menno Simons in 1681, or perhaps one of his descendants?

Probably seeing his attempts to bring them back, in a friendly way, to the bosom of the Puritan Church fail, Johnson now resolved to use stronger measures. He watched with a rigid care over them.

In 1591 he found out that Barrowe and Greenwood, then chiefs of the Brownists, were secretly preparing to have printed on a Middelburg press a polemical writing against the Church of England, of which the following is the full title:—"A plain refutation of Mr. Giffard's book, entitled: A short treatise against the Donatists of England; wherein is discovered the forgery of the whole ministry, the confusion, false worship, and antichristian disorder of the parish assemblies, called the Church of England. Here also is prefixed a sum of the causes of separation and of our purposes in practice."

Johnson hurried to give information of this to the English Ambassador at the Hague, who empowered him, to his great satisfaction, to do what he thought proper. He slyly concealed his discovery till the last sheet was printed. He then suddenly surprised the printer, by requiring him to deliver all copies, and he compelled the magistrate, who dared not oppose the ambassador's authority, to order the books to be publicly burnt. In his presence the whole impression, except two copies, were committed to the flames. One of the two reserved copies he kept for himself, the other one he bestowed upon a learned friend of his.

Wondering what a tissue of errors this work might be, Johnson sat down in his study to peruse the book superficially. He was, however, so interested that he read and re-read it, becoming more and more interested: At last he

could not help thinking it contained only the truth. From his copy he had a new edition printed in 1606.

His resolution was at once formed. Not as Fletcher (Independency II, page 211) erroneously writes :—“his sentiments from this time underwent a *gradual* change.”

He resolved to resign his office and join those whom he had formerly supposed to be fanatics—the despised Brownists. He visited Barrowe and Greenwood, the noble confessors of truth, in their London prison, and to be inspired by their religious zeal, before, as might perhaps be speedily the case they should suffer the death of martyrs.

CHAPTER VIII

THE BROWNISTS AND THE DUTCH REFORMED AND WALLOON CHURCHES

THE troubles and difficulties of Francis Johnson now began. He succeeded in establishing a church, which both his father John Johnson and his brother George joined. Yet he was repeatedly persecuted by the State churchmen. He was imprisoned, set at Liberty, and imprisoned again. When in April and May 1593 Barrowe and Greenwood were executed on that scaffold, Francis Johnson could only expect to meet the same fate, but then half a year had elapsed ; he seemed to have been forgotten. The churchmen announced triumphantly : "the sect has actually been stamped out."

November 6, 1593, Francis Johnson made application for his release to his former patron Lord Burghley. He begged that if not liberated, he might at least be admitted to bail during four or five months, to restore his broken health.

It was no wonder that his constitution had been weakened. From his brother and fellow-prisoner George, we learn, again, that seven months later, July 1, 1594, they were lodged in the darkest and most miserable dungeons, having only straw to lie upon. Sometimes they were without food during twenty-four hours. Clean linen was allowed them only once every twenty days. Neither friends nor relatives were permitted to visit them.

In 1596, their Amsterdam fellow-believers wrote page 30 of the preface to their confession of faith : "the wickedness and supremacy of these papistics, alias Anglicans, are such as to persecute to death all persons who contradict them, throwing them into dirty prisons, which these prisoners seldom or never quit, except when carried out upon a bier, unless they do violence to their conscience ; nor did the Anglicans provide for those they kept, but detained them,

without food or money for their subsistence, however poor they were. If of means of their own, they were made to pay for their board ; if not, the prelates let them live upon air. And in order that they might the sooner perish of hunger, or renounce their allegiance to truth, they are put in dark cells, entirely secluded from the world ; all their friends, nay, even their wives and children being forbidden to come and see them." (Epistolae ecclesiasticae et theol. 1704, pages 68 and 69).

Francis Johnson's application for release had no success. It was four years afterwards, that the persecutors gave their sentence on him. Experience had then taught it was very far better to remove secretly men to Johnson's world, than to favor them with the crown of martyrdom.

Now Charles Leigh, a London merchant, and of the so-called "merchant-strangers"—the brothers Abraham and Steven of Harwick (an elleptic form of Harderwijk* or Harderwick) a Dutch town, not to be confounded with the English sea-port, Harwich. These men fitted out two ships, with the purpose of forming a settlement for cod-fishery and trade in the bay of Canada, on Rainea, an island close to Newfoundland. Simultaneously they made "humble suit to her majesty, to transport out of their realm divers artificers and others, persons that are noted to be sectaries, whose minds are continually in an ecclesiastical ferment, whereof four shall at this present sail thither in those ships that go this present voyage." (See Register of the Privy Council).

These four men were Brownists and had to stay beyond seas until they changed their minds and conformed to the rules of the Church of England. They were the brothers Johnson, their elder Daniel Studley, and John Clerk, formerly Major of St. Albans, but since June, 1594,

* Formerly the seat of a university suppressed by Napoleon and in later years the seat of recruiting and supply for the army in Insulande (Island India) or the Dutch East Indes.—ED.

stigmatized as a rebel, for letting the Brownists meet for religious worship in his house. Besides, he had harbored Penry, and, a little before the latter was imprisoned, and had promised to pray for him.

Both the ships, the *Hopewell*, Captain Crofton and the *Chancewell*, Captain Steven of Harwich, which left Gravesend, April 8, 1597, and had on board the four exiles, had a disastrous voyage. The former, indeed, reached the island of Rainea, but before the crew could land, they fell foul of French ships, and a tumult arose aboard. The other ship was wrecked June 23 and plundered by the French.

A quite unexpected meeting with the *Hopewell* only saved the crew from starvation. The captains intended to make good their loss by privateering, but had to give up their plan, owing to the poor condition of the ships and from want of provisions. They again shaped their course to England arriving at the beginning of September.

Yet the exiles dared not land, but fled to Amsterdam, assured as they were to be kindly received there by Ainsworth and his companions.

In this expectation they were not disappointed. Full of compassion for their distresses, the congregation welcomed and admitted them. It is probable that John Clark, like the other brothers, Johnson and Studley, settled down in Amsterdam, as, according to No. 104 of annexed list of marriages (Appendix A) his widow Ursula Trievwery (Truery?) married again, June 7, 1614, in Amsterdam, to Studley.

Francis Johnson was re-instated in his former office as a pastor or teaching elder, that is, he was competent to oversee the members, to preach, to administer the sacraments, and to govern the flock. And as the work took all his time, the congregation bound itself to provide for his support.

Ainsworth remained as ordinary minister. Daniel Studley, together with George Knivetton, formerly chemist at Leyden and elder of the congregation, when it still met at Islington, Stanshall Mercer, and the late elder of Naarden, Matthew Slade, were now ruling elders, who had to assist Francis Johnson in overseeing and governing. Yet only if need be, or in default of the pastor and minister, they had to preach. Already since 1593 Christopher Bowman was its deacon. Francis Johnson includes the year Bowman had been deacon at Islington, when writing in his "Inquiry and Answer," 1606, page 15:—"to which he hath with good approbation ministered in that office now about 14 years." Between 1599 and 1602 Thomas Bishop and David Bresto became deacons.

Francis Johnson's Puritan feelings were still too sensitive for him to approve of his congregation's isolation. Because of its corruptions, he had separated from the Church of England. This reason did not deter him from communion with the Reformed Church in Holland. He earnestly endeavored to keep up a close connection with the Reformed and later with the Presbyterians.

Ainsworth had met only with opposition and contempt, Johnson hoped to receive more Christian courtesy.

In 1598, a full year after his arrival, he published with a preface an English reprint of the 1596 edition of Ainsworth's Confession of Faith, to which he could agree in every respect. Its title runs:—"The confession of faith of certain English people living in the Low Countries exiled." This edition was enlarged by a Latin translation, entitled:—"Confessio fidëi Anglorum quorumdam in Belgia exulantium, una cum praefatione ad lectorem."

Copies were sent to the Consistories of the Dutch and Walloon Reformed Churches.

In the records of the Consistory of the Walloon Church, we find, June 8, a reference to it:—"Mr. de la Vigne et

Iaffin sont nommer pour avec Mr. Plancius et Arminius traicter touchant le faict des Anglois sentans et enseignans autrement que nous."

No mention of it, however, is made in the Consistory's records of the Dutch Reformed Church.

To both editions was prefixed an "Epistola illustrissimis et doctissimis viris, sacrarum literarum studiosis, in celeberrimis Lugduni Batavorum, Sanctandreae in Scotia, Heidelbergae, Genevae, Caeterisque Belgii, Scotiae, Germaniae, Galliae Academiis Christianis," to which it was declared the Confession of Faith was dedicated in order that, in case of errors, they might warn them against these, and give approval, "vel silentio vel scripto" to whatever was truth in the document.

It was prayed that their previous persecutions, the suffering in their present exile, their zealous efforts to propagate the truth and to complete the work of the Reformation, for the benefit of all Christians both their native and their new country, might be admitted as excuses—should any one charge them with arrogance on account of the publication, and, above all, on account of their appeal to the most eminent corypheuses of science.

Johnson and Ainsworth did not let the matter rest there. By sending one of them—quemdam e numero vestro, as Junius calls him in his answer—with a copy of the Confession of Faith to the well-known Leyden professor Francis-cus Junius, they ventured upon another attempt to procure an answer to the Leyden faculty. Their hope was to obtain the answer of the whole faculty, and not of a private person, that of Junius. Being a friend of Cartwright, and moreover known as a man of peace, Johnson looked for the support and approbation of Junius. But owing to his peaceful mind, or perhaps even more to fear of being suspected of heresy, when taking the part of the Brownists. Junius sought all sorts of subterfuges and constantly refused the support desired of him.

His shuffling answer was drawn in the most amiable and friendly terms. Yet he carefully evaded the speaking of his true mind as to the contents of the Confession of faith, Junius' letter was dated January 9, 1599, and not 1600, as Hanbury—who thinks that Junius adhered to the old style—misstates in his *Memorials I*, page 134.

Junius may have been in a quandary as to what he could do for them in this direction. In his letter he intimates that he does not like to meddle with the business of others. He is not at all competent to decide whether they are in the right. Besides, having solicited the opinion of the university it would be most pretentious for him to pronounce judgment about it in the matter without consulting others.

Junius referred the Brownists to the Amsterdam Consistory as being their only legal judge. Yet, without saying a single word as to its contents, he strongly disapproved of the publication of the Confession. It contributed to awaken doubts whether the presumption of heresy be unfounded, as being otherwise useless. It was a hostile act towards the Church of England; a concealed resentment against persecutions which should be borne Christianly. Because so public an action was calculated to stir up mental excitement, it could never remove any evil. It would give reason to the enemies of the true church to rejoice in the discords between the faithful. It would give offence to those lacking in faith. Perhaps, even contention would be occasioned by it in the Reformed Church, which, because of having it kindly received on their arrival in Holland has certainly not deserved it from them.

This letter Junius sent to the Consistories of the Dutch Reformed and Walloon congregations for their reading at the same time charging these with the delivery of it. Through that same medium Johnson and Ainsworth returned, in answer to Junius, a very elaborate, carefully drawn up defence, dated February 19, 1599.

It seemed as if Junius had all at once forgotten how a letter could reach the Brownist leader. Before receiving their reminder, which came to hands March 9, and has since been lost, Junius wrote, March 10, a second letter. The fact is, that he was puzzled at having learned from a letter of the ministers Taffinus and Arminius, dated March 3, that they were very angry with Johnson and his companions. In fact his answer to their defence does not contain anything new. Contradictory to his former saying : “*putatisne quemquam ita dementem fore, ut quum tam multorum bonorum judicium et opera desiderata est, unus aliquis solitarius de ea ie dicat,*” he now assures them, that he “*nihil fratribus et collegis inconsulis fecit,*” and forbids positively that they should derive from his silence respecting the contents of the Confession of faith, his assent to it.

He, indeed, still addresses them as “*fratres dilecti et charissimi,*” but, when adding :—“*habetote fiducium vestram et nobis relinquite modestiam nostram ; quod si vobis fortiores in judiciis esse videmini, nos velut infirmos ferte dum quiete pia et studio sacro ad altiora et certiora venerimus,*” displays the most haughty contempt.

It is no wonder that the English, after due consideration, resolved on retaining their friendly, submissive rejoinder, which had been already drawn up March 18, as is shown by one of their later letters sent to Junius, July 1, 1602, and printed in “*Certain Letters.*” The “*Epistolae eccl. et theol.*” contain only Junius’ answer to it.

After all their time and labor spent, their sole aim being the intercession in their favor of the Leyden faculty, the result was failure.

CHAPTER IX

THE GRIEVANCES OF THE BROWNISTS AGAINST THE DUTCH REFORMED

NEW troubles arose among these Free Churchmen. One of their elders, Matthew Slade separated from their brotherhood. He joined the Dutch Reformed Church and was next appointed, July 1, 1598, sub-rector of the Amsterdam grammar-school in the Koe (Cow) Street.* His name and the date of his appointment are recorded in the Treasury Accounts of Amsterdam, from February, 1598 to February, 1599, stating :—“ Paulus Tossamus, sub-rector at the old side and Matheus Sladus, chosen in the room of the said Paulus, paid florins 432, 10 denaries, for salary during four quarters of a year and four months due the 1st of November 1598 ”—Four months being perhaps a clerical

* Matthew Slade, from the county of Dorset, was a mason by trade. Yet he had received some education in letters. One day he strolled, in his work-dress, into an Amsterdam street, and stopped at a bookshop. In the window he noticed an open volume, in which he read a Latin poem. As he was reading, he shook his head, to the great amusement of the poet, who happened to be inside the shop. Slade was called in and the poet asked: why he turned his nose up at the poem? “ It is not bad,” was the answer, “ but there are blunders in it; ” which he pointed out and corrected. The poet agreed with him, and from that moment on, helped the mason to metamorphose himself into a man of science. He served as teacher, sub-rector and rector of the grammar-school in Amsterdam until a couple of years before his death in 1628. About 1600 he became also the first librarian of the Amsterdam town-library, which, at that time contained but a few hundred volumes and was opened but one day a week. Because of his great knowledge of books, he was nicknamed: a walking library. He made, in Latin, the first catalogue, entitled :—“ Catalogus Bibliothecae Amstelredamensis. Lugduni Batavorum, extypographio Henrici Ludovici ab Haestens, MDCXII.”—The copy in the Cambridge Museum is probably the only one in existence. To both the setting up and printing much care was devoted. On the title-page is a beautiful engraving; showing a large Bible with the arms of Amsterdam and an inscription in Greek besides the figures of Commerce and Navigation with its attributes on either sides supported upon the Book of books. In 1880 a reprint of this extremely rare catalogue was issued by the old firm of Johannes Enschedé and Son, Harlem, for the lovers of books.—*Translator.*

error for four weeks, in case of which Slade entered upon his office October 1, 1598. In the account of the next year, four hundred florins are regularly noted for his salary. H. Verheyk in his "Oratio secularis de antiquitate et vicissitudinibus scholae Amistelre damensis," 1778, page 55, relates of him :—"Matthaeus (Sladus) certe natione Anglus, Graecis ac Latinis et poëticis elegantiis satis subactus, nescio quo casu huc delatus, et Beronio non absimilem degens vitam fabro caementario operam collocabat. Forte in platae, quam Vitulinam vocamus, bibliopolium transiens in venale carmen Latinum oculos coniicit, legit, et veluti indignabundus caput quassat. Homo, ut videbatur, nullius pretii, squalida, et, ut solent opesae, attrita veste Latini carminis censuram faciens, in officina adstantibus risu excipitur, quorum tamen unus : hem quid tibi videtur, amice ! non malum, inquit, sed vitia insunt duo insignia. Ipse accedit poëta, quid factum audit sibique monstrantur petit. En tibi, ait : placet etiamsi reprehensor : abstine a tam vili opere, te pro meritis vestiam, et victimi curabo. Dictum factum. Non diu post publicae scholae pars quaedam ei committitur, mox Correctoris munus, quod tamen, ducta in matrimonium Petri Plancii sacrorum Antistitis filia, deire posuit."

The proof of Slade's having been an elder with the Brownists, is to be read in George Johnson's "Discourse of certain troubles," 1603. He states that Francis Johnson's congregation had originally three elders : Studley, Knyveton and Slade, whose name is not mentioned in Ainsworth's answer to J. Sprint's reproach in his 2d Consideration — "Besides your principall pillars of greatest reckning, gifts and judgment have returned from you under the Church of England ; as Harrison, Smith, Crud, Slade and sundry other ministers." Ainsworth says, ("Counterpoyson," 1608 page 41) :—"Mr. Harrison returned not unto your Church of England, but died in Middelburg, in this faith

that we profess. Mr. Smyth, Crud and some others, which never were officers, much less pillars in our church, did, indeed, forsake their first faith and died soon after." He does not mention Slade, because the latter had in fact been an officer.

Those who naturally wished to win back Slade into their church, sent him a list of eleven articles explaining, why they disapproved of this transfer of his membership. These entitled : " Articles against the French and Dutch by Francis Johnson," were issued in book form. No copy of it, I think, is extant, but its contents may be seen in the Epistolae eccl. et theol., page 79, and in the Acta of the North Holland Synod of the 18th of June 1601, sub. 38, at which Synod only the first ten articles were discussed.

According to these articles, the Reformed congregation was too numerous to be a true church. It cannot meet together in one place, and accordingly is unable to conduct rightly church discipline. Nor could it take knowledge of the presence or absence of the members from the church assemblies. They baptize children of non-members, and neglect the care for such baptised children. Next to the Lord's prayer, they have all sorts of set forms of prayers. They meet in the temples of the antichristians, that is, in the former churches of the Roman Catholics : " the anti-christian stones have some of them the ornaments of the Roman harlot upon them remaining." They maintain their ministers out of funds and not by voluntary contributions. They do not ordain members of the Consistory for life, but yearly. They assume the right to contract marriages, which belongs to the prerogative of the magistrate, and celebrate festivals, invented by man, as if they were equal to the divine Sabbath. But, above all, in contravention of the rules given to us for church discipline, they do not strictly conform to Matthew XVIII, 15-17, both by temporarily forbidding any one to partake at the Lord's

Supper instead of excommunicating him, and by readmitting to the congregation excommunicates, before having given sufficient evidence of penitence.

This usage to let excommunication, by way of last warning, precede by suspension from communion, was quite unknown to Calvin. It was for the first time practiced by the Dutch Church in London, next at Embden, and afterwards in Geneva, the Palatine and France. At length, in 1571, it was enacted by the Synod at Embden for the Reformed Church in Holland. Accordingly, this method or degree of church censure—one of the objections of the Brownists—dated then, from scarcely thirty years before, or about 1541.

The last, or eleventh article, concerning readmission of excommunicants, is passed over in silence in the letter of the Reformed ministers, Taffinus, and Arminius, to Junius. Was not this noteworthy? Perhaps the soundness of this grievance was undeniable.

The remaining ten articles were mentioned accurately—which shows that Matthew Slade had hurried to inform them thereof.

Another source of friction was developed when the Consistory sent some deputies to lay the dispute before the North Holland Synod, which assembled at Alkmaar, June 21, 1599.

The Synod, considering that "those who were called Brownists and had come from England, bred disquiet among several members of the Church," thought fit that "any church, where such be the case, should reason the magistrate into providing against it, under the authority of the Honorable Lord States."

The relations with the Reformed did not improve when, nearly eight months after, February 10, 1600, some deputies of Johnson's congregation lodged their complaint with the Reformed Consistory, for having received as members some who had been excommunicated for defending an adul-

terer, and a woman who had forsaken the Brownist church.

This woman was constantly reproaching the Brownists with only naming, but in fact not regarding the Reformed as Christians.

A fortnight afterwards the haughty answer was made that theirs could not be considered as an ecclesiastical complaint, since their gathering had never been acknowledged as a church. In fact, in the protocol of the Consistory, February 10, 1600, III fol. 53, the word church, which the secretary had put down by mistake, is blotted out.

The Consistory was disposed to take into consideration any grievance which they might have individually, but all further negotiations with the English were cut off. Yet, fully a year after, April 5, 1601, the English reverted to the matter. On that day six of their deputies came to the meeting of the Consistory of the Reformed congregation. One of them read aloud a Latin paper, in which most likely, for the document is lost they harked back to their old grievances. After the reading, they handed the document to the president-minister, Plancius. The latter perusing it, and seeing it was not signed, desired them to validate it by their signatures, which they did. He next ordered them to leave the room for a moment.

The Consistory agreed that the paper should be translated and sent to all the members to take cognizance of it. that a committee should draft an answer and submit it for the Consistory's approbation; and finally, that the president should administer a severe reproof.

No sooner were the Brownists deputies again ushered into the waiting room, than there came from the lips of Minister Plancius: "Nos maxima cum tristitia vestras audivimus accusationes: confidimus autem omnibus piis satis superque constare, nos ita hactenus Dei gratia vixisse, ut semper apparuerit inter dicta et facta nostra optimus consensus, ut pote qui promissa fideliter assidue praestiti-

mus. In vera Dei ecclesia semper viget vera christiana charitas, quae omnino aliena est ab accusandi et condemnandi libidine. Vestra autem verba graves continerent accusations si essent vera, sed magnas continent calumnias, si sint falsa. Ea vero esse hujusmodi, suo tempore (Deo adjuvante) re ipsa docebimus."

With these words the English were dismissed. Their request to have the Consistory's deliverance put on paper, or at least to repeat it once more, so as to enable them to carry word for word to their congregation, was rejected. They had then to depart helplessly. Only three months after, they came to know the right meaning of the promise : "verba vestra esse falsa re ipsa docebimus."

The Consistory, to get rid of the matter had ordered its deputies to the North Holland Synod, which met June 18 of that year, to put the question : "For what should be kept those who separated from the Reformed Church of God in England, and besides withdrew from the Reformed congregation, Jesu Christi here in Holland, for these following ten chapters?" after which the ten points in dispute—the eleventh one being passed over in silence—were communicated.

In answer to this question the Synod declared "that those ought to be considered schismatics or apostates," and directed a few members of the Consistory that, should the English, in consequence of that declaration, intend to excommunicate the Reformed Church, they were first to dissuade them from it, and next, if they continued obstinate in it, to apply to the magistrate, not—as is added—for fear of excommunication, which counts for little, but to prevent the simple from being alarmed at it; and if they nevertheless might proceed to excommunication and such was declared publicly, the ministers were to announce to all the world for what the said Brownists are kept by the churches and also ought to be kept by anybody else." (See Acts of the North Holland Synod, June 18, 1601, sub. No. 38).

The Consistory now conceived itself freed from all further negotiations with the English. Rupture was unavoidable. The schismatics deserve neither refutation nor reply. Woe, if they should ever venture to importune the Consistory again.

Vain fear ! The English did not entertain the idea of it. No further reference to the Brownists in the Consistory records of 1602 has been found, except a resolution formed July 25 (Protocol III, folio 82) to direct the ministers Plancius and Arminius to investigate the records and to advise the Consistory in its answer to the inquiry of the Classis of Walcheren : " How the Consistory behaved to its Brownists?" This inquiry was, probably, also made in consequence of the ninth gravamen, laid by four classes of Zealand before the Synod and to be dealt with in its next assembly : " Whether it were not advisable never to communicate any more in writing to irritable, fiery people, either Brownists or other sectaries, lest they might afterwards get it printed, to the stirring up of our members, nay, to the injury of our religion and church-government, and to the propagation of their own errors?" (See Records of these Classes, July 11, 1602.)

New troubles were in store for the exiles. Indeed, a few months after, a translation into English of their correspondence with Junius, by one R. G., was published in England. No extant copy of it, is known.

It was to prove that the Brownists " shroud themselves under the shadow of human authority," and was, besides considered an excellent means " to stay such as are wavering, to confirm such as do stand and to recover such as are fallen."

In view of this the elaborate refutation of the exiles, sent Junius February 19, 1599 in reply to his accusation, was omitted. With the delicate object of preventing Junius' letters from becoming public property, Johnson and his

companions had always kept these missives to themselves and had never allowed them to be copied. At first they supposed Junius to have divulged the letters, but when he most positively denied such to be the case, they changed their mind. Yet they did not suffer themselves to be deluded by Junius' subterfuges.

For example, the latter suggested, though himself knowing better, that the English Ambassador during his visit to Amsterdam might have obtained the correspondence from the Brownists themselves. Albeit Junius did not himself contribute to promote the publication, yet it is clear that, by communicating the letters to the English Ambassador, he had played them in their enemy's hands. As the refutation had been designedly omitted, and the translation was in some places far from trustworthy, this publication was not all that could be desired. Consequently, the Brownists resolved to have an entirely new translation printed, which contained not only the refutation, but also the undelivered letter to Junius of March 18. Of this edition they sent, July 1, a copy to the Leyden professor Junius, who on the 16th of the same month, exhorted them in a presumptuous tone and left their next letter of the 21st following unanswered.

Thus ended a correspondence which, indeed, did Junius very little credit, and of which the English rightly said in their preface:—"All wisehearted may and will, we doubt not, easily discern how naked and helpless they be, which neither by their friends at home nor the most learned abroad, can otherwise be relieved than by such things as hitherto they have printed: or howsoever this present generation shall judge of these things, yet the ages to come, which will be less partial, will easily give sentence."

CHAPTER X

INTESTINE DISCORDS

WHILE the efforts of persecutors, to disperse and stamp out the Brownists were vain, a fierce dispute of their own arose about the same time among themselves. Never since its settlement at Amsterdam, had the brotherhood been disturbed to such a degree. In fact, its vitality was endangered even to possible annihilation.

Here lies the crux of the controversies.

During his imprisonment in London, September 1594, Francis Johnson married Mrs. Thomasine Boys. She was rather a wealthy widow who had £300 as her dowry.

Johnson's brother George had tried to dissuade him from this marriage. A man confined on account of religion, said he, should not ally himself to a woman notorious for her showy dress, and probably unwilling to give it up for plain garb. Indeed, George was not slightly shocked when, shortly after her marriage, she visited him in his prison, attired more magnificently than ever. He referred her to Isaiah III, 16, 17^a, and to what is said there of the daughters of Zion.

Mrs. Francis Johnson tried to soften her brother-in-law with flattering words excusing herself with an allusion to I Timothy IV, 4, 5 :—“For every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused if it be received with thanksgiving: For it is sanctified by the word of God and prayer.”

When the news of their private marriage was bruited abroad, the Archbishop of Canterbury felt that he must take vigorous measures against the prisoner and Francis Johnson, was henceforward debarred from enjoying all visits.

As for George, he considered himself bound to write to his brother, telling him that his wife gave much scandal to

the members of the congregation by her luxurious dress, wearing three, four, five gold rings on her fingers, while her husband was suffering imprisonment and their fellow-believers at Amsterdam were struggling with the utmost poverty. Still greater offence was given by the whalebones and laces of her stays, her gorgeous bonnet, her stiff, starched frillings, her rings, and musk-odors, and, beyond all, an abominable, shocking breast-piece, which George was ashamed to name, but which he prayed the Lord to make her ashamed to wear. Indeed, he trusted the cost of all these things was defrayed by herself, but if not, he was willing to raise money for paying this debt, rather than casting any longer aspersion on the "sacred belief and the people of God."

Though already resolved on sending the letter to his brother, George, after due consideration, thought better to show it beforehand to Francis' wife, promising that it would not be delivered if she mended her ways. It was no use. She immediately communicated the letter to her husband, who, in a rage, called George a fanatic, a blockhead, nay, an Anabaptist. George, in his turn, retorted that Jeremiah III, 3 was applicable to her: "thou hadst a whore's forehead, thou refusedst to be ashamed."

Francis called this letter the most detestable one ever written. He desired the congregation to excommunicate his brother. But pastor Settle and elder Daniel Studley took George's part. Sometime after, when Francis was treated less rigorously and permitted to leave his prison for a while, under strict supervision of a guard, Studley effected a reconciliation between the brothers. This was chiefly due to George's indulgence, for he owned, that the woman had made some reformation. For the future, he would hope for the best.

Afterwards when another church member made complaint concerning Mrs. Johnson's dress, George even refused to

give it a hearing. He also readily partook at the communion, administered, early in the spring of 1597, in the house of his brother Francis and his sister-in-law, however unworthily these two might have only a short time before, behaved toward him.

Thus terminated this miserable conflict in England. Church members of less obstinate temper flattered themselves with the hope that the old feud had fallen into oblivion, through the hardships the exiled brethren encountered on their outward and homeward voyage to North America.

In this, however, they were sorely mistaken. Francis' wife had not been permitted to accompany her husband to Rinea, but she probably traveled with him from England to Amsterdam. There her presence was sufficient to rekindle the quarrel. Within barely ten weeks from their arrival, the fire was burning more fiercely than ever. Still further, George, who at times had to live on one shilling or less a week, saw, most likely, the realative wealth of his brother with envious and sorrowful eyes. He scarcely had a home, while his brother was living "in a great house, near the Reguliers Gate, having sundry rooms to spare," while to the wanderer George he "not once offered one corner of his superfluity." So George wrote in his "Discourse of certain troubles and communications in the banished English Church at Amsterdam," page 113.

Moreover, George envied Francis his mastership as shepherd of the congregation. Nor could he stand his brother's ambitious temper.

Indeed, it seems that Francis had a lust for power and was not free from covetousness. This we noticed on a former occasion.

It is also proved by the accusations against him by his deadly enemy, the apostate Brownist Christopher Lawne. True, these accusations are too much inflamed by party zeal to be believed implicitly. Yet they may contain a modicum

of truth. Ainsworth himself owns, that the principal cause of the contests, which, before and after, pulled his congregation so miserably to pieces, was no more than thirst for supremacy. R. Clyfton writes ("An advertisement concerning a book by C. Lawne," 1612, p. 22) : "Love of preeminence, which hath always troubled us, whilst the governors of the church, which should serve it with meekness, would rule it with lordship." Francis Johnson, quoting these words, inserted, by way of parody, after "troubled us" "while the people that should be under the Governors, would be over and above them."

On November 25, 1597, Francis Johnson's overmastering will displayed itself again very clearly. The congregation agreed to nominate two more elders. Francis and his friend, Elder Studley, expected George to stand for election. On account of their scientific education at Cambridge, both brothers were most fit for Church government.

Francis sent for George and told him that he should not become an elder, unless he should apologize beforehand for the most abusive affront offered to Mrs. Johnson, by applying Jeremiah III, 3, to her. George replied that he considered himself neither fit nor sufficiently worthy for the eldership. Speaking in a presumptuous tone, he added that, during his exile, on land and at sea, he had thought a good deal on that reference in question, but could, even at the time, see nothing inappropriate or sinful in it.

Francis in reply declared that he would try the matter out. "If you do not confess your guilt," said he to his brother, "you have to make your choice between your excommunication and my resignation as a pastor."

The events were now to take their own course and shape themselves. Ainsworth made an appeal for meekness and indulgence, but Francis covered his mouth by exclaiming : "If you knew him as Studley and I know him, you would not say so!"

George was continually summoned to appear before the Consistory—very much to the detriment of his already bare subsistence. When on one occasion, he excusssd himself from coming, he was exhorted with the words from Ezra X 8 : “ And that whosoever would not come within three days, according to the council of the princes and the elders, all his substance should be forfeited, and himself separated from the congregation of those that had been carried away.”

George made argument, that Francis who, with Studley as a witness, was his accuser could not be at the same time his judge. This was answered with a reference to Moses who himself condemned Korah.

According to Francis, those who spoke in favor of George were altogether unskilled in dispute and had best be silent.

Mrs. Johnson's bonnet was again the stumbling stone. By vote, the brotherhood decided the bonnet of itself was not unsuitable. George pretended never to have said so. He only held it improper for a wife to wear such a bonnet during her husband's imprisonment. Now, showing his ability in syllogism, Francis replied, that whatever is not of itself unsuitable, does not become so by its being used ; consequently, the bonnet did not become unsuitable because his wife was wearing it. George rejoined, that velvet was of itself not unsuitable, but that it would be very unsuited to a sailor to be clothed in it.

Francis now proceeded to expatiate on the dress of all sorts of people and referred to Tamar (II Samuel 13:18) who dressed like a king's daughter. Other members of the congregation, however, insisted that Mrs. Johnson's gorgeous garment was not such as befitted a wife whose husband was in prison. In consequence thereof, said they, not a few had at the time been kept from sending a contribution towards refreshments for the prisoner.

All this irritated Francis beyond endurance. He

straightened up and powerfully argued that his wife's dress was really decent and becoming in every respect. Drawing a long breath, one of his hearers most singularly besought him to drop the subject lest they might get into trouble with their wives and daughters. Ainsworth, indeed, had to use all his eloquence to quiet the turbulent meeting and to adjourn it to a next occasion, when Mrs. Johnston's gown, which too had given offence, should be exhibited for inspection by the brotherhood.

Unhappily enough, this adjournment did not improve matters. Francis refused to show his wife's gown. He reproached his brother with thirty offences, and George retorted, specifying numerous others. George maintained, for example, that several persons took Mrs. Johnson to be a coquette like the daughter of Zion, pictured by Isreal (III:16) who walks with stretched forth neck and wanton eyes, walking and mincing as she goes and making a tinkling with her feet." Moreover, she lay abed on Sunday mornings until nine o'clock so hindering the usual assemblies, etc., etc.

Francis took his revenge. On the 25th of December, (on Christmas let it be observed) he preached from Psalm LII, and very clearly compared George with the enemies of David, who tried to deliver him to Saul, with Absalom, Judas, Korah, Dathan and Abiram.

After the service, when church-matters were in discussion, George accused his brother of corrupting the Scriptures and abusing his office as a preacher.

The conflict seemed now to have attained its greatest height. Yet Ainsworth, acting again as moderator, succeeded once more—January 12, 1598—in warding off the excommunication of George, whom he thought was only to be reproved rigidly for false evidence, and left out of the next choice of elders.

Though calling this sentence a gross injustice, George

acquiesced in it. Shortly afterwards, since Francis Johnson and Studley could not attain their end, in the election of deacons and elders, January 23 and February 19, the peace was temporarily left undisturbed.

Yet the quarrel revived August, 1598, when George had to justify himself for withdrawing from the Communion, because a few members of the congregation had declared that they also would not partake at it, on account of what had happened. George pleaded innocence by referring to the precept :—“first be reconciled to thy brother and then come and offer your gift.” (Matthew V, 24.)

This excuse tended to stir up the old question, which had been at rest for the last half a year. George would according to the thirty-eighth article of the Confession of Faith have another congregation, *viz.* : the one of Norwich, to give an advisory judgment in other words, he would have a council called.

As was to be expected, neither Francis nor Studley, nor any one of their party, would consent to this proposal. So, too, John Johnson, their father, now already seventy years old, came over from England, to reconcile if possible his two sons. A letter from the ministers of the Dutch and Walloon Reformed Churches tells us :—“Narravit nobis Joannes Jansonius Anglus se hominem septuagenarium es Anglia in hanc urbem difficiili itinere venisse, ut duos filios suos Francis cum et Georgium dissidentes in gratiam reduceret.”

Probably the Consistories of the said congregations had nothing to do with this letter. At all events, there is no mention of it in their records. Its contents are preserved in C. Lawne’s book, “The Prophane Schisme of the Brownists or Separists. With the Impietie, Dissensions, Lewd and Abominable Vices of that impure Sect,” 1612, 4^o, pp. VIII, 88.

John Shaw, in “Advice to his son,” 1664—a manuscript

printed in J. Hunter "Founders of Newplymouth" page 182-186, consequently, thus misstates the case:—"After this the Johnsons, both father and sons, separated upon the like grounds and went with their congregation to Amsterdam, but they broke all in pieces." In fact, the father only left much later for Holland to make peace between his sons.

Francis did not shrink from the most rigid measures. No church-member ventured to pronounce excommunication. At the meeting convened for that purpose, every one of them kept silent for fully an hour. At last, Francis rose to his feet, and, white with rage, declared that if nobody would do it, he should do it himself.

Thus George was cut off from the congregation. As his father would not avoid the outcast "like a heathen and a publican," Francis permitted the brotherhood to pass the same sentence upon the gray-haired man. The difference between George and the father's excommunication is shown in John Smyth's "Paralles, Censures and Observations, 1609: "If Mr. Johnson pronounced excommunication against his brother and if the church excommunicated the father." Many of the brethren vainly attempted to prevent this excommunication and in vain, did the Reformed ministers intercede. Francis persisted obstinately until the death of his father, sending him down to the grave with a curse, as if it were engraving the sentence of excommunication upon his father's tomb. (See E. Pagitt, "Heresiography," page 51).

Who shall dare to approve of Francis' conduct? On the other hand, who shall pronounce the sentence of condemnation against him, definitively without reserve? Perhaps, it was with a bleeding heart that he pronounced his anathema. Perhaps, it hung heavy on his hands to sacrifice his filial affection to what he considered to be his solemn duty: the maintenance of a strict church-discipline, which

he supposed the Lord himself had commanded. Perhaps, the man, from whom we turn aside with aversion, deserves our regard, at least our pity, for being true to his principles.

For the accounts given of the whole affair, George's writing is our sole source, and this is tinged with partiality. It must, undoubtedly, be considered as creditable to Francis, that Ainsworth, the only moderate one among all these hot-brained persons, was always on his side, and, though with charity, was opposed to George. Even of Francis' wife, who was the primary cause of all these conflicts, a fervent pious, strict, and scrupulous man, who had known her for a long time, testified, ten years later, that she was a pious, modest, respectable woman, well fitted to be a pastor's help-meet and assistant. If anyone, she would have been taught by experience. Advancing in life, she might, too, have changed her habits.

Here is the light, that pierces the gloom, cast by these deplorable conflicts. In the midst of these shadows, it is not all darkness. True, the most impure passions are seen stirring and at work there: envy and rancor, stubbornness that never will confess offences, not even in the case of invectives uttered against a sister; and withal a love of power unscrupulous in the means of attaining its end.

Yet, whoever is not diverted by what is before his eyes and seeks deeper to penetrate the springs of actions, discerns also here, his own activity to shame, a sacred zeal to preserve the church from corruption, a pious scrupulousness that regards the pride of the world as a horror for the children of God; a strong religious life of all, devoted to the promotion of every one's salvation.

CHAPTER XI

OPPOSITION FROM WITHOUT

AFTER these turbulent times, which had lasted fully eight years the exiles found comparative peace. Yet they still met with numerous difficulties, which, however, were not rooted in their own circle. These entered from without.

First of all, Francis Johnson was enlisted in a quarrel with Henry Jacob, with whom in England he had had some diversity of opinion.

In 1596, Henry Jacob was first pastor at Cheriton, Kent, and afterwards of Johnson's old congregation at Middelburg. Being a true Puritan, but condemning the Separatist's practice, he was a staunch opposer of the Brownists. At the desire of one Daniel Buck, he argued with Francis Johnson, then still in prison that it was the duty of any member of the Church of England, however convinced of its corruptions he might be, not to separate from it.

Both Jacob and Johnson alike were able debaters. From several passages of Scripture Johnson shows Henry Jacob his error, that the true church of Christ could consist of men of all conditions, as well the good as the wicked ones, and that Jesus had taught this clearly in the parable of the tares of the field (Matthew XIII:38). The field means here the world, says Johnson, and not the congregation.

Johnson makes the following objections to the Church of England : the discipline being scandalously neglected ; the sacraments administered to unworthy persons ; the civil magistrate expected to reform ecclesiastical abuses and as long as he does not interfere, these corruptions are suffered ; set forms substituted for prayers coming straight from the heart ; laws obeyed ; worldly traditions approved ; offices appointed, of which in the gospel one does not read ; their

dignitaries allowed to possess temporal authority ; to collect, like Jewish and Popish priests, tithes, and, at their pleasure, to compel inferior clergy to desert their flock. The condition of things furnished sufficient motives for avoiding these false prophets, to refuse receiving the consecrated sacraments out of the hands of these priests, and to cut off all connection with a so deeply corrupted and unchristian church.

Johnson, further, declares that, though Henry Jacob may agree with him in thinking that the confiscation of ecclesiastical property by the State would be to the honor of God, to the wide diffusion of the sacred scriptures and peace of the church, he and all so-called Reformists would protest against it, if the state should spend these funds on schools, universities, hospitals, places of worship, on the relief of widows, orphans or foreigners in distress, and would consider it almost sacrilegious, should anybody else than he with his partisans receive them.

It was not until three years later, in 1599, that Henry Jacob, then at Middelburg, published his answer, entitled : "A defence of the churches and ministry of England. Written in two treatises against the reasons and objections of Mr. F. Johnson and others of the separation commonly called Brownists. Published especially for the benefit of those in these parts of the Low Countries. Middelburgh by Richard Schilders, 1599," 4^{to}, 91 pages.

As early as 1600, Francis Johnson made rejoinder by putting into print, with many additions, what he had previously written. This quarto volume of 217 pages was entitled ; "An answer to Mr. Henry Jacob. His defence of the churches and ministers of England," 1600, 4^{to}, XXVIII pages, to which was apended : "An Answer to Mr. H. Jacob, his Treatise Concerning the Priests of the Church of England," etc., 220 pages.

This paper warfare, apart from the consequences, shows

that Henry Jacob persevered in his opposition to Johnson and the Brownists, and that he was not convinced by their written refutations.*

This polemic literature shows us also that Francis Johnson and his associates did not lose heart. While in Holland they were continually harrassed by their own countrymen. The Dutch Reformed did not recognize their congregation as a church.

Yet these homesick Free Churchmen did not despair. Living in the Republic as foreigners, they were desirous and cherished the hope of returning to England. At the death of Elizabeth, March 24, 1603, and on the accession of James the First, the end of their excitement, they thought, could not be distant and their hope soon be fulfilled.

James the First, when still King of Scotland, had always called the Puritans his friends. Even during the lifetime of Elizabeth, he had considered London and all principal towns of England, because of their Puritan majority, to be well disposed towards him. No wonder, then, that the monarch was now overwhelmed with petitions from those who had so long been oppressed.

Francis Johnson and his partisans were among the foremost petitioners. Probably he and Ainsworth in person carried over the address. They did homage to the King as their lawful monarch, declaring that they adhered to the true doctrines of the gospel, according to the tenets of the Church of England, while averse to the antichristian hierarchy, the corruptions in the public worship and the receiving of unworthy members. They sent in their Confession of Faith of 1596, in order that the King might be well informed that they were unjustly persecuted by the prelates. They asked that they might be granted the priv-

* In his "Congregationalism," 1880, page 635, Dr. H. M. Dexter misstates the contrary. Not until 1610, under the influence of Parker, Ames and Robinson, did Henry Jacob change his opinion.

ilege of returning to their country and to walk peacefully in the faith of the gospel.

To these, their prayers, no answer was returned. A second address, embodying the points of differences with the Church of England, in fourteen articles had no better success.

In a third effort, they appended a very extensive explanation and a confirmation of the proposed articles, with references to Scripture.

This time they were favoured with an answer. Through the mediation of an eminent person, they were invited to lay before the King a condensed statement of their wishes. The former communication had covered no fewer than forty quarto pages.

They responded promptly, for the task was easy. Their sole wish was to be recalled from their exile. At the same time, they demanded that, should the king think it advisable to confer with their opponents on the various points of dispute, he might inform these of their arguments and himself preside at the proceedings.

It was all in vain ! On June 9 the University of Cambridge issued a sharp resolution to confute their assertions in regard to the ecclesiastical estates. This resolution was passed by scarcely one-third part of the senate, among whom was not a single doctor of divinity, except the violent anti-puritan vice-chancellor.

Oxford now followed with "The Answer of the vice-chancellor, the Doctors, both the Proctors and others, the heads of houses in the University of Oxford to the humble petition, 1603."

This answer of thirty-two quarto pages, in which, October 7, the sister-university fully concurred, unfairly reviled the exiles. The Brownists found now that all their hopes were over though seventeen days afterward King James consented to a disputation between the prelates and the

Puritans. By the same resolution, His Majesty, first promised that the Church of England was constituted according to the gospel and to the primitive Christian congregation, and that its present condition was highly creditable to its rulers.

England's ruler had now thrown off mask and disguise forever. Henceforth he was inexorable, the cruel tool of a priesthood, that flattered him fulsomely, and exactly in that manner ruled him according to their will.

Hence the disputation, held January 14, 16 and 18 at Hampton Court was a mere sham, not a single Puritan was to be present. The King, in a Latin speech of his own, jeered at all who differed with him in opinion. He even expressed the amiable wish that those who disapproved of the use of surplices might ere long want linen for their own breeches !

Sufficient reasons, these, for the eighteen bishops around him, to protest, on their knees,* that his Majesty undoubtedly spoke by the special assistance of God's spirit !

Of these events Hallam, in his "Constitutional History," vol. I, page 404, says :—"we are alternately struck with wonder at the indecent and partial behaviour of the king and at the abject baseness of the bishops, mixed, according to the custom of servile natures, with insolence towards their opponents."

Had that same spirit perhaps also to do with the King's command issued March 5, to maintain by force when need requires, uniformity in worship and in the use of the Prayer-book ; with prohibition of all attempts to prevail on him to depart from his resolution ; with turning out of Christ's service, in about one year, three hundred ministers ; and with seconding the bishops in their excommuni-

* Among the great things accomplished by the Separatists was their breaking of the yoke of Norman Feudalism. See the *North American Review*, for January 1921.—ED.

cation, March 19 and 20, of every one who dared deny the Church of England to be a true, apostolic church, or to separate from it and form distinct assemblies?

The exiles were now in despair. They no longer expected to return to their country. They again addressed the King a lengthy writing of one hundred eighteen quarto pages, entitled:—"An apology or defense of such Christians as are commonly (but unjustly) called Brownists, against such imputations as are laid upon them by the Heads and Doctors of the University of Oxford in their "answer to the humble petition, Jeremiah VI, 1 p., Phil. III, 2, 1604."

There are two copies of this work in the British Museum. An extremely scarce Dutch translation of it, dated 1612, contains all the above-mentioned petitions and explanations. They signed the Apology as "overseers,deacons and brethren of the English Church at Amsterdam in the Netherlands exiled for Christ's Gospel's Sake."

This address was the joint production of Francis Johnson and Ainsworth, though it should be observed that later editions, as is the case with the Dutch one of 1680, are generally subscribed with Ainsworth's name alone, probably because he was the principal author.

Meanwhile the exiled George Johnson gathered around him some of his partisans and became their pastor. Yet success did not crown his efforts. This is clearly shown by his application to Domine Plancius to admit him and his followers to the Reformed Church. His request was laid before the Reformed Consistory, June 28, 1603, but by the ministers Plancius and Halsbergius, was rejected (see Protocol III, folio 98.)

George Johnson now addressed himself to Hugh Broughton, who happened to be in Amsterdam about that time.

Hugh Broughton, born 1549, was a man of great learning but of little judgment, very irritable and pedantic, a

dogmatic zealot, coarse and rude in his polemics, a Puritan, but still adhering to the Church of England—in consequence of his hatred towards the Brownists. The title of his works, edited in 1662 by John Lightfoot, reads :—“The works of the Great Albanian Divine, renowned in many Nations for rare skill in Salem’s and Athen’s Tongues and familiar acquaintance with all Rabbinical Learning !”

Broughton acquired a certain degree of reputation by maintaining, in opposition to the opinion of the Church of England, that Christ should have descended into hell, Calvin’s interpretation, who justly understood the Hades to be the nether-world or the region of the dead.

With a view to inform King James, he was occupied at that time with his book “An advertisement of corruption in our handling of religion, 1604,” published in 1605, containing one hundred twelve quarto pages.

It must have been gratifying for a man of his stamp that George Johnson, the exiled Brownist, had recourse to him. Supposing that experience had taught his countrymen to be submissive, he advised George to return to England. He even gave him a letter of introduction to the Bishop of Durham.

Results were quite otherwise. No sooner did George Johnson get back to his country, than he paraded again his former objections against the Church of England. For this he was committed to prison. Then he became ill and died before judgment was passed upon him.

Hugh Broughton reported afterwards: “George Johnson, for whom I wrote to the Bishop of Durham, that I thought him tractable, and desired that he might be suffered to come hither, was accused of turning the subjects from obedience, upon contempt of our churches, and is dead.”

Francis Johnson wrote in 1606 (“Inquiry and Answer,” page 61) of his brother: “he did not, like as this man, (Thomas White) leave or contrary our general cause and

testimony against the Church of England ; he was there taken and put in prison for this cause, where he died under their hands ;" and, a few lines higher : "it pleased God to visit him with sickness that he died."

Assuredly, it was for the most part to his book on the controversies in the congregation of the Brownists, that George Johnson owed Broughton favorable opinion respecting him. In the bitterness of his grudge George Johnson had this book published before it was half finished.

This action of George Johnson, formerly considered as one of its members, was very grievous for the Brownist congregation. Not less violent, was the conflict arising some time after. Ainsworth was attacked by Hugh Broughton, and Francis Johnson by Thomas White.

In consequence of a cursory remark of Broughton, in his "Advertisement of corruption in our handling of religion," Ainsworth defended the usual interpretation of Exodus XXVIII:6 and XXXIX:2,3. It irritated Broughton to such a degree that he charged Ainsworth, who, according to the professors of the University of Leyden, "had not his better for the Hebrew tongue and had an excellent gift for opening the Scriptures," without understanding a single word of Hebrew, nor being able to expound a line of the New Testament. Broughton now availed himself of this occasion to call the Brownist Church : "a Synagogue of Satan," on account of their opinion as to the use of former Roman Catholic Churches ; on forms of prayers ; and on church discipline.

Ainsworth made answer to this attack in a lengthy writing, published in 1605 by Francis Blackwell, an elder of his church. Its title runs : "Certain questions concerning : 1, Silk or Wool in the Highpriest's Ephod. 2 Idol Temples Commonly Called Churches. 3, The Form of Prayer Commonly Called The Lord's Prayer. 4, Excommunication, etc., Handled between Mr. Hugh Broughton, remain-

ing of late at Amsterdam in the Low Countries, and Mr. Henry Ainsworth, Teacher of the Exiled English Church at Amsterdam aforesaid." 1 Thess V 21, 1605, 4^{to}, IV and 40 pages.

This elicited Broughton's rejoinder, entitled : "An admonition to Mr. Francis Blackwell, one of the Company of Amsterdam," etc. (See Broughton's Works, page 722). From this title it appears that the book was published by Francis Blackwell and not by Francis Bright, as Brook, in his "Puritans," Vol. III page 518 suggests.

Ainsworth made rebuttal under the title : "An answer to the Articles of Unlearnedness objected to me by Mr. Broughton." His defence is written in a dignified style, which is now and then trenchant, yet indeed gentle and moderate, when contrasted with Broughton's invectives.

This is all the more to the praise of Ainsworth because just about that time a scheme was formed, more dangerous for Ainsworth and his church, than any former measure of the magistrate ever had been. Perhaps—the supposition at least is rather obvious—this scheme was contrived by Broughton and prepared by Matthew Slade, mentioned previously, who, according to the records of the Consistory, had now already been promoted from sub-rector to rector of the grammar school.

This apostate Brownist laid, May 5, 1605, a complaint before the Consistory of the Dutch Reformed Church, on account of several "ill handlings" of the Brownists living here in Amsterdam, which handlings were partly contrary to the authority of the magistrates and the obedience which all subjects are due to them, and partly fatal to God's Reformed Church. (Protocol III folio 128).

The Consistory now resolved on conferring upon this matter with the Walloon Consistory, as both these bodies had always acted in common with regard to the Brownists. Three deputies were nominated, who met with those of the

Walloons, and sent for Rector Slade on the 1st of June. But though the so-called “ill handlings” referred to “la grande confusion et desordre qui se void en ce qui concerne le mariage et l’excommunication” (Actes du consistoire de “Eglise Wallone, I May 1605”), that is, to the aversion of the Brownists to celebrate their marriages in the Reformed Churches and to their execution of excommunication, the real purpose of Slade was soon unmasked.

He wrote that: “there were here in this town (Amsterdam) a great many Englishmen who did not understand the Dutch language and for that reason entreated to be assisted in the formation of a Reformed English Church, uniform in doctrine and government to the other Reformed churches in Holland. The complaint put in beforehand, as the words: “uniform in doctrine and government showed clearly enough, against whom this measure was directed.”

Of course, the erection of such a church would be most derogatory to the Brownists. Nor was it less visible who was concealed behind this all, when, a few months after, as soon as the burgomasters favored the plan, it was reported that Hugo Broughtonus had been highly recommended to the burgomasters for the service of such a congregation (Protocol III folio 184).

It is further observable that, entirely distinct from that of the Brownists, there existed already in 1597 a congregation of Englishmen in Amsterdam, having Henoch Clapham as pastor. From the title of his “Theological axioms or conclusions,” published in that same year, it appears that these were “publikly controverted, discussed and concluded by that poore English congregation in Amsterdam, to whom Henoch Clapham for the present administereth the Gospel.”

The Walloons had wisely refrained from all further intervention. Their opinion was that they ought not to have anything more to do with the Brownists, who had better bring their complaints, established by precise proofs, to the magistrate.

In the records of the Walloon Consistory, May 9, 1605, we read: "la compagnie a ingé qu'il nestoit pas expedient d'en conferer avec les susdits Brownists, mais estime nécessaire, que les exemples de leurs desorders sayent representer a messieurs les Bourguemaistres parcent, qui ont fait leur plainte de telles choses."

But even the Dutch Reformed got little good from these measures of theirs. Broughton left Amsterdam within a month, and repaired to Middelburg. See Protocol III folio 136, November 17, 1605. Three years elapsed before the Presbyterian Congregation was established (in Amsterdam). For the present the danger threatening the Brownists was averted.

It would have turned out quite otherwise if the design to call Thomas White, after Broughton's departure, had been successful. The British merchants, agreeing with Slade, would, however, have nothing to do with him, [White]. According to the Protocol III, folio 141, March 9, 1606, Jonas Thomassen, Ritsaert Auwen and Jonas Harwan, British merchants, appeared before the Consistory and declared that the British merchants were not inclined to call Mr. Thomas Weyt, and consequently requested that another able minister, having the required qualifications, should be called.

The only ground on which White was recommended by the Reformed Consistory, must have been his most vigorous invective against the Brownists, published a short time before under the title of "A discoverie of Brownism; or a briefe Declaration of some of the Errors and Abominations daily practised and increased among the English Company of the Separation, remayning, for the present, at Amsterdam in Holland. Proverbs XVI:29 London 1605," VI, 30 pages quarto. An unworthy attack by a renegade.

In fact, Thomas White, of the County of Wiltshire, had separated from the Church of England with a most tren-

chant, parting letter, dated February 25, 1603, and not 1604 (as Hanbury, most likely mistaking it for Old Style, states in his "Memorials" page 108.)

White embraced Brownism and repaired with twelve or thirteen fellow-believers to Amsterdam. He immediately joined there the Brownists, though he with his fellow-travellers continued to keep together in one distinct body. He assigned as a reason for his action that they knew each other better than they did the Amsterdam members, and that it was rather desirable to form several congregations. But Francis Johnson suspected him and his friend Thomas Fowell of keeping aloof, because they wanted to remain their own masters and not to be subjected to him as their pastor.

Be this as it may, during ten weeks, White enjoyed at Johnson's house the most liberal hospitality. In April, 1604, he married an English woman named Rose Grempre, widow of John Philips. She was probably not a Brownist, but a member of the Church of England, to which may be attributed the fact that White, as soon as he returned with her to England, suddenly reverted to that church and changed his opinions.

White now repaid the Brownists' civilities with the most indelicate reproaches and vulgar imputations in the aforesaid printed invective. He not only tried to hurt as much as possible the feelings of his host and benefactor Johnson, by revealing again, what had happened with Johnson's father, and by ridiculing the moderation of his silence at the insults offered him by his late brother George, but he even called the deacons thieves and the elders lewdsters. He apologizes for the rudeness of the style of his pamphlet, with the words:—"Being but newly arrived."

White further says (page 25):—"These that pretend such sincerity of Religion, do abound above others with all kinds of debate, malice, adulteries, cozenage, uncleanness,

so that W(illiam) C(lerck) complained, that he thought, that they had been all saints, but, I see, they are all devils."

As William Clerck continued member of the Brownist Church, it is obvious that this complaint should not have been taken seriously.

Against these imputations the Brownists had no other antidote than laying a complaint before the magistrate, but in vain. White represented that his pamphlet had been printed by order of the highest church dignitaries. At the end of the preface to Francis Johnson's "Inquiry and Answer," we read:—"But thus is he the fitter servant for his masters the Prelates, by whose authority he pleaded here, before the magistrate, that his book was printed."

Just about that time, the first month of 1606, it had been reported to the King of England, that English exiles in Holland were shamefully abusing the freedom of the press by printing books and libels of a most dangerous kind. In consequence of this, the king directed Archbishop Bancroft to make Ambassador, Sir Noel Caron, give his attention to it, in order to provide a remedy. How very sensible of the publication of such pamphlets the English government was, is seen in 1619 when Ambassador Carleton, on his own authority, instituted close inquiry concerning William Brewster,* a Brownist and printer at Leyden. Carleton had

* "July 22, 1619. One W. Brewster, a Brownist, hath been for some years an inhabitant and printer at Leyden but now within three weeks removed from thence and gone back to dwell in London, where he may be found out and examined, not only of his book: . . . , but likewise of: Perth' Assembly, of which if he was not the printer himself, he assuredly knows both the printer and author; for, as I am informed, he hath had, whilst he remained here, his hand in all such books as have been sent over into England and Scotland; as particularly a book in folio, entitled . . . was printed by him. So was another in 18' . . . of which I send your honor the title page; and if you will compare that, which is underlined therein, with the other:—you will find it the same character, and the one being confessed (as that . . . Brewster doth openly avow) the other cannot well be denied.

Sept. 12.—In my last I advertised your honor that Brewster was taken at Leyden, which proved an error, in that the Schout, who was employed by the magistrates for his apprehension, being a dull drunken fellow, took one man for another."

both his types and the whole number of copies at Leyden seized and apprehended his assistant.* To a similar measure of the English Ambassador, in 1591 at Middelburg, we have adverted before.

No wonder that the Amsterdam magistrates, after such sharp exhortations from a superior authority,** durst not, a few days after, prosecute the slanderer. A welcome way out was found. The complaint was made in the name of the congregation by its complete board ; but as the company of the Brownists had never been acknowledged by the magistrates as a legal congregation, their request could consequently not be admitted. The records or resolutions of the Amsterdam burgomasters, preserved in the Municipal Offices of Amsterdam, give no intimation of it. The application was signed by all known persons, except by Mercer, Kniveton and Bresto, who were replaced by Francis Blackwell and William Barbons. It was also signed by the deaconesses Jane Nicolas and Judith Holder.

After this disappointment Francis Johnson took up the pen once more in his own defense. This writing and perhaps also his republishing in 1605 of the book of Barrowe and Greenwood, awoke the anger of this Bishop of London. This prelate having the English ecclesiastical mind of that period—printing not being free in England, as in the Dutch Republic, imagined that this writing and all books published by the Free Churchmen called Brownists were not only licensed but also approved by the Dutch magistrates.

He was delighted to be better informed by the deputies of the Dutch at London, when these particulars were com-

*See the full account of this in the article by the editor "The New England Magazine, entitled "The Pilgrim Press in Choir Alley, and in his Young Peoples' History of the Pilgrims, 1920.—ED.

** The power of the British envoy in the Republic is understood, when we remember that the British and Dutch were allies in the war for Dutch independence against Spain and Sir Dudley Carleton sat in the Raad van State, or Supreme Council of the Netherlands.—ED.

municated in a letter of that Church (in Austin Friars and still existing) to the Consistory of the Reformed Church in Amsterdam (Protocol III, fol. 146, January 8, 1606.)

Francis Johnson could not prevent the misrepresentations of White and his co-workers being credited, by many in England. For many years afterwards these slanders found willing ears and were continually spread. Most of them are enumerated in C. Hutton's book "The prophane Schism of the Brownists or Separatists with the impiety, dissensions, lewd and abominable vices of that impure sect, discovered by Christ. Lawne and Robert Bulward, lately returned unto the bosom of the Church of England from the Company of Mr. Johnson," 1612.

Fortunately this bitter conflict did not impair the concord of the congregation. The bonds of friendship between its leaders Francis Johnson and Henry Ainsworth were all the more tightened. The congregation daily increased in numbers and strength. Another influx of fugitives promised the highest prosperity, but, in fact, lighted the torch of discord. Schism after schism was caused, many times more injurious than the congregation had already deplored.

CHAPTER XII

JOHN SMYTH

HEADING these fugitives from the home land, there was among the first comers, a certain John Smyth, born in one of the eastern counties of England, to the south of the Humber and the north of the Wash. He studied at Cambridge, probably from 1586 till 1593. There, Francis Johnson (from about 1580 student, and expelled from his college, October 30, 1589, for difficulties with the heads of the University) was for some time his tutor. Richard Bernard, who most likely entered there as a student in 1591 (the registers from 1589 to 1602 are lost) became Bachelor in 1595, and obtained, in 1598, the degree of Magister (doctor). He was consequently a contemporary of Smyth and states in the preface to his "Plain Evidences," 1610, that Smyth was made minister by Bishop Wickam—a wrong spelling for Wickham, who was bishop from 1584 till his death in 1595. From his later sentiments, it may be concluded that he was deeply interested in the controversies about predestination, *gratia universalis* (universal grace) and *perseverantia sanctorum* (perseverance of saints) which at that time convulsed the University. Besides, by the shallowness and pedantry of one student, Barret, the anti-Calvinistic sentiments of professor Baro, called in 1571 and now deprived of his chair, were displayed. In the meantime, November 20, 1595, the so-called Lambeth-articles, intending to embody the calvinistic doctrine respecting predestination, were drawn up.

Yet what part, either openly or secretly, Smyth took at these conflicts, and however he might, perhaps unwittingly, have imbibed the Puritan views at Cambridge, he was not prevented by them from being shortly after ordained a minister of the Church of England at Lincoln. In his "Plain Evidences," Richard Bernard says of him :—"He was a

subscriber, a conformitant, and as honest a man then, as ever since, for anything seen or heard hitherto to the contrary : this is evident, when first he was made minister and when he was instituted into a living. Whether wholly a conformist, he best knoweth : it is enough, that he was, what he was."

Long this burning zeal, evidently the result of the noblest principles, his more than usual abilities, his peculiar gift of preaching, which, at a later date, was even acknowledged by his opponents, were all instrumental in ranking him foremost among the most beloved preachers. Bishop Hall places him above Robinson ; Baillie attributes to him eminent gifts ; an unknown opponent calls him : "a scholar of no small reading and well seen and experienced in arts" and Bradford describes him as "a man of able gifts, a good preacher and of other good parts."

The library of Emanual College, Cambridge, contains a collection of Smyth's sermons, entitled : "The bright morning starre or the resolution and exposition of the 22 Psalms preached publicly in foure sermons at Lincolne by John Smith preacher of the citie." Printed 1603, 16mo.

The corruptions he detected in the Church of England tended constantly to turn his mind to the opinions of the Puritans. He even questioned his own conscience whether it were not his duty to lay down his office and abandon forever the communion of the Church of England. His indecision lasted nine months. In his " Paralleles, Censures, Observations," page 128, he states : "that I doubted nine months I acknowledge."

During this period, perhaps to overcome his own doubts, he probably employed himself in compiling the writing in which he confuted the objections of the Brownists, with whom, according to Neal (" Puritans," I p. 374) the county

near Lincoln was infested, to the use of the Lord's prayer, both as such and as the finality of all prayers.

No copy of this composition seems to be extant which Richard Bernard cites in his "Plaine Evidences" to them in the preface and also on page 181; so that the book must have been rather copious.

As he was writing, it occurred to Smyth that the Brownists' views, especially in regard to the authority of the bishops, were well-founded. Though threatened by these prelates into professing orthodoxy, he decided in 1602, at the end of his nine months of deliberation, to resign his office and separate from the Church of England forever.

Had not the year of his change of creed been stated by so reliable a witness as Nathaniel Morton, the cousin of Governor Bradford, we should, on account of aforesaid collection of sermons, rather think it took place in the year following. Very soon Smyth gained a great many adherents, especially among the merchants in the neighboring town of Gainsborough. There he became pastor of a Brownist congregation.

At the end of the preface to his "Plain Evidences," Richard Bernard writes: "he was made minister by tradesmen and called himselfe the pastour of the Church of Gainsborough." To the "town of Gainsborough and those there that knew my footsteps in this matter," Smyth refers in his "Paralleles" page 128, when proving that since his change of mind he never wavered in his conviction as to the necessity of his separation.

He now travelled all over Gainsborough's environs: Austerfield, Scrooby, Yorkcastle, Basford near Nottingham and Worksop. The circle of his followers constantly widened. At the first named places he brought over to his opinions William Brewster, born 1560, and Richard Clyfton, born 1553, as J. Hunter states in his "The founders of New

Plymouth" page 45*; at Basford the couple Thomas and Jane Helwys, who tenderly nursed him during his sickness, perhaps the first fit of the disease of which he died afterwards; ** at Worksop, Alexander Hodgkin and his family, including his daughter Jane, afterwards married to John Murton, a member of the congregation at Gainsborough, and his former fellow student Richard Bernard who since June 19, 1601, ministered in the English Church. Bernard had studied at the expense of Sir George Saintpoll, to whom he dedicated in 1608 his "Christian Advertisements," in which dedication he says: "by your works of mercie, in the universitie was I brought up, whereby through the good grace of God I am that I am."

Bernard regarded with envy the impression of Smyth's preaching upon his audience. To save his own church from desertion he thought best to pretend to agree with Smyth's opinions. A hundred members of his congregation he called to a solemn celebration of the Lord's supper, on which occasion the partakers promised never again to

* According to this statement, obtained from family papers, Clyfton would have been only 55 years old when coming to Holland. Yet Bradford in his "Dialogue," page 455, says: "he was a grave and fatherly old man, when he came first into Holland, bearing a great white beard, and pity it was that such a reverend old man should be forced to leave his country and at those years to go into exile." John Smyth was, moreover, upbraided with opposing Richard Clyfton, as being "a weake man, unable to deale in so great a controversy." Perhaps he was, therefore, some ten years older and the statement in the family-papers may be incorrect.

** Smyth, "Retraction of errors":—"All that ever Mr. Helwys can say is that, when I was sick in England at Bashforth, I was troublesome and chargeable to him, wherein I confess his kindness, but I would have given him satisfaction and he refused it, and in my sickness there was so much brought in as I spent." Smyth in his "Paralleles" and Bernard in his "Christian advent. p. 38 says of this illness: "a sickness nigh unto death." Barclay "The Inner Life" etc., page 52 errs when presuming that Smyth fell into this disease when committed to the Marchallsea. A William Smyth was imprisoned there in 1593, but never the John Smyth in question. Brook ("Puritans"), J. Hunter ("Founders of New Plymouth" p. 55), ("Congregational History," page 157) fall into the same mistake.

attend to the service of the detested ministers of the Church of England.

In his "Parallels" Smyth says: "I have considered your covenant made with one hundred people, a thing of such note and observation, as that the whole country ringeth of it," and a few pages later: "you did call out a hundred persons of so many parishes so far distant to enter covenant together not to heare the dumb ministers, to watch one over another, to admonish one an other and thereupon to receive the Lord's supper."

Bernard himself acknowledges to have done such, "only in policy to keep his people from Mr. Smyth." (Robinson, Works II, page 101). On account of that statement I judge of him quite differently than J. Hunter, in his "New Plymouth," page 37.

After all, caught by the strong current, Richard Bernard became openly an opponent of the Church of England, refused to subscribe the articles for observing its doctrine and public worship, and was on account thereof sequestered from his function. Smyth in his "Parallels," page 2, says: "afterwards having lost your vicaridge."

Smyth officiated about four years as pastor of Gainsborough. At the expiration of that term three Puritan ministers: Dod, Hildersham, Barbon, invited him to a public disputation* at Coventry at Sir William Bowes' residence; to which he agreed.

As a rule, disputations of this kind never carry conviction. Either party professes to have gained the victory. At the request of the others, Smyth closed the conference in the evening with prayer. He thanked God for the peaceful disposition among the disputants and besought for-

* Waddington ("Congregational History," p. 157), H. M. Dexter ("Congregationalism" p. 312) and others inaccurately state that this disputation took place earlier, but Richard Bernard ("Christian Advertisement" page 37) connects it with Smyth's visit to Holland.

giveness for any error and imperfectness in argument or refutation.

Smyth himself was not at all convinced by the Puritans. On the contrary, he even thought he had silenced them on more than one point. In his "Parallel," page 129, we read : that "I praised God for resolution of my doubts I deny to death," and on page 128: "that ever I did acknowledge the seperation for truth and seperated from the English assemblies and then returned againe unto them I do utterly deny and I appeale," etc.

On the other hand it was that prayer of Smyth's that gave opponents cause for proclaiming that Smyth had been convinced by them of his error and had solemnly recanted it. Richard Bernard tells us in his "Christian Advertisement," page 37: that "Smyth conferred with certaine godly and learned men, whereby he became so satisfied, as he kneeled downe and in prayer praised God, that he was not misled further." In the preface to his "Plaine Evidences," 1610, he referred again to this, though Smyth had already in 1609 said in his "Paralleles": "ther is one untruth that I did kneele downe and praise God for satisfaction after doubting."

It is not to be wondered at that attention was more than ever drawn to Smyth by this controversy. Since 1605 the vigilance and seurity of the State church clergy against all nonconformists had increased. Even the "Gunpowder Plot," was a tool in their hands to provoke hatred among the people against all sectaries. Under such circumstances, and perhaps because of threats or still worse, Smyth thought it advisable to fly from Gainsborough with as many of his congregation as could and would go with him. Cotton ("Way of Congregational Churches," page 6) reproaches him with this change: "for though the tyranny of the ecclesiastical courts, was harsh towards him and the yokes put upon him in the ministry too grievous to be borne, yet

neither was he alone in suffering." Smyth states that he twice escaped from his persecutors. The first time was probably, when in 1602 a confession of orthodoxy was extorted from him ; the second when he fled to Holland. Richard Bernard ("Christian Advertisement," page 38) charges him with : "a dauntablenesse of spirit with feare, not daring to be bold to suffer for the cause here with us," viz.: with Bernard and his people, then belonging to the Brownists.

Smyth formed the design of repairing to Amsterdam—the usual asylum for Brownists. He did not grudge the Puritans—who were still always priding themselves on their supposed victory—their foolish boast that he had been completely won over to their opinions and that was now going to convert Francis Johnson. To load Smyth again with inconstancy Richard Bernard asserts in his "Christian Advert.," page 37 : "he was so resolved as he purposed to dissuade his tutor Mr. Johnson from the same, saying he would goe to Amsterdam for that end." Cotton, doubtless, borrowed from the preface to Richard Bernard's "Plain Evidences" his information on page 6 of his "Way of Congregational Churches :" "he thought he could have gained his tutor Johnson from the errors of his rigid separation.

Indeed, at his departure, Smith provided as much as possible for the remaining part of his congregation. This task was rather easy. Just at this juncture John Robinson happened to come into the neighbouring village of Scrooby, where elder Brewster was living in a large mansion. Robinson, born 1575, had studied at Cambridge from 1592 to 1598, and had been, from 1600 to 1605, pastor at Mundham, of which benefice the municipal government of Norwich had the right of presentation."

Difficulties concerning his preaching at Norwich led Robinson to the decisive step of separating from the State

church. Henry Ainsworth in his "Answer to Crashaw," page 246, says: "witness the late practice in Norwich, where certain citizens were excommunicated for resorting unto and praying with Mr. Robinson, a man worthily reverenced of all the city for the graces of God in him." According to Pagitt ("Heresiography, page 77): "one master Robinson, who leaving Norwich malcontent became a rigid Brownist."

The friends at Scrooby soon recognized Robinson's great abilities, and in 1606, probably when Smyth was about to depart, or had already left, appointed him, in his room, as their pastor, to assist the old teacher Richard Clyfton.

The Brownist congregation at Gainsborough and the one at Scrooby were two distinct churches, as Hunter in his "Founders of new Plymouth Plantation," page 53 and elsewhere rightly states, on the authority of Bradford, "History of Plymouth," page 9: "these people became two distinct bodys or churches and in regarde of distance of place did congregate severally. In one of those churches was Mr. John Smyth, who afterwards was chosen their pastor. But in the other church was that famous and worthy man Mr. John Robinson who afterwards was their pastor for many years."

I suppose, however, that the congregation of Scrooby never had a pastor of its own, before Smyth's departure, as Bradford adds page 10: "so after they had continued together about a year, they resolved to get over into Holland as they could, which was in the year 1607 and 1608." Accordingly, the congregation was founded one year before 1607, otherwise in 1606, the year of John Smyth's departure.

The Scrooby congregation now being provided for, Smyth resolved to set out. He arrived in Amsterdam late in the autumn of 1606, probably in October or November.

CHAPTER XIII

THE TWO ENGLISH CONGREGATIONS IN AMSTERDAM

JOHN SMYTH did not join himself to the congregation of his former tutor, Francis Johnson, but formed with his people another English Church which though separate, was intimately connected with the first or elder of the two. This, perhaps, led Baillie to misstate (in "Errours," page 16), that Smyth established himself not at Amsterdam, but at Leyden. Shaw ("Manuscript," page 185) and Neal ("Puritans," page 422) fall into the same mistake, which mistake Prince ("Memorial," page 120) already detected, but, in turn, commits in the same place an error by saying that Robinson went to Leyden at the end of 1608—which was in fact not before 1609.

For various reasons Smyth did not join Johnson's company. This was, first, because the congregation, increased by the exiles from Gainsborough and environs, might have become too numerous to meet together conveniently in one, rather small place, and to watch over each other properly. Then also, each congregation had but one pastor, and as Francis Johnson had already held during nine years that dignity in Amsterdam, John Smyth would have had to renounce his position of pastor.

Bradford (see Young, *Chronicles* page 450), tells us:—he [Smyth] was some time pastor to a company of honest and godley men, which came with him out of England, and pitched at Amsterdam.* Finally, while in Holland the contest between Gomarus and Arminius more and more agitated the nation, it was surely not strange that it was

* Brooke (*Puritans* II p. 146), Barclay (*Inner Life*, p. 63 and 68) and Dexter (*Congregationalism*, p. 312 note) unjustly presume that Smyth joined Johnson's congregation, for which no evidence exists to warrant the statement.

soon shown how rigid a predestinarian Johnson was, and that Smyth and his followers held opposite views *

Yet both congregations were on most friendly terms. They were two children of one mother, attached to each other in sisterly affection.

On the title-page of his "Differences of the churches of the separation" ** Smyth calls his congregation "the second English church at Amsterdam," and the other one in the preface "the auncient brethren of the separation."

On the ground of the intimate connection of these two congregations, Henry Ainsworth was justified in saying in the preface to his "Defence of the holy Scripture," 1609, of John Smyth that : "not long since he professed himself to be a member with us."

Smyth's congregation was the less numerous but kept constantly increasing in members but from refugees from the Lincolnshire region.

These exiles were in a thankful mood. In a letter of Hugh and Anne Bromhead, in answer to one of July 13 and written about August 1607, as accompanying Smyth's "Principles and Inferences," probably published in the middle of 1607, we read : ". . . unto our good God and Father, that hath in his merciful providence brought us out of Babylon, the mother of all abominations, the habitation of devils, and the hold of all foul spirits, and a cage of every unclean and hateful bird, and therewithal hath given us a charge to separate ourselves and to touch no unclean . . . we seek to establish and obey the ordinances and laws of our Saviour, Christ, left by his last will and

* Dexter ("Congregationalism," p. 314) assigns a later date to Smyth's Arminian principles, without, however, supplying proofs. The event of the Lambeth articles being drawn up in 1595, does not render it probable that Smyth was quite free from Arminianism when coming from England.

** See reprint in Appendix B.

without altering, changing, innovating, wresting or leaving out any of them, that the Lord shall give us sight of, by the assistance of the Holy Ghost, in this faith, and order to lead our lives, and for this faith and order to leave our lives, if such be the good-will of our heavenly Father."

At that time the congregation, of which Francis Johnson was pastor and Henry Ainsworth teacher, attained a hitherto unknown prosperity. It numbered three hundred members. In remembrance of it, the famous Plymouth father, Governor Bradford, forty years afterwards, exclaimed : "truly there were in them many worthy men : and if you had seen them in their beauty and order, as we have done, you would have been much affected therewith, we dare say."

After having made mention of its government, Bradford says further : There was "one ancient widow for a deaconess, who did them service many years, though she was sixty years of age when she was chosen. She honored her place and was an ornament to the congregation. She usually sat in a convenient place in the congregation with a little birchen rod in her hand, and kept little children in great awe from disturbing the congregation. She did frequently visit the sick and weak, especially women, and, as there was need, called maids and young women to watch and do them other helps, as their necessity did require, and if they were poor she would gather relief for them of those that were able, or acquaint the deacons, and she was obeyed as a mother in Israel and an officer of Christ."

The consequence of this growth of the congregation was that Johnson and Ainsworth looked for a place for assembly more suitable than the one with which they had hitherto been content. A site on the Groeneburgwal (Green city wall or rampart) was purchased in the name of one of the

brethren, and the necessary money for the building raised by subscription.

Ainsworth ("Animadversion" page 2) tells us, that the assurance of the ground was made in the name of one man only, whose name was used but in trust, for any other might have had the same as well as he, and that two of our brethren and a widow were chief owners of the building. Yet, too, from England fellow-believers sent contributions.

The records of the Consistory of the Amsterdam Presbyterian Congregation, February 4, 1607, informs us that: "applying to their friends in England, they obtained money to build a house to dwell in and to preach in it secretly, if need be." This means that added to the chief building there were various dwellings, just as afterwards was the case with the church of John Smyth in Amsterdam and that of John Robinson at Leyden.

Thus the English pretended to use the building as lodgings for their own people rather than as a new meeting house. Their real design, however, did not escape the sharp-sighted eye of the Reformed Consistory. Already November 30, 1606, as soon as the purchase of the site was rumored, the ministers Plancius, and Ursinus were deputed to interview the Burgomasters and to protest against the building of a church by the Brownists from England.*

Nevertheless, the Brownists began in January to build. To prevent, if possible, this "abominable" intention, the said ministers were sent again (see Protocol, folio 154 et seq., January 4, 1607). But as before they came in vain. Again this time the magistrate displayed his kindly feelings towards foreigners and those of a different opinion.

It was, therefore, the more gratifying to the ecclesiastics, that a violent hurricane arose and entirely destroyed the

* While perfect liberty of conscience and worship was allowed to all within their own dwellings, it was not then permitted by law to build an edifice called a "church" or one that looked like a "church" or make any public propaganda in any form.—ED.

still unfinished building. It gave John Paget* a welcome cause to open one of the first pages of the Presbyterian Consistory's record book with the observation : "The beforesaid Brownist preaching-house being half ready, God sent his strong wind most furious from heavens and cast the house only, and no other, flat down unto the ground, which was a sign that they do not build upon the rock, the true and wise foundation."**

Despite this warning these Free Churchmen set about repairing the damage, and after some time completed the

* John Paget was a chaplain in "the Scotch Brigade" composed at first in Elizabeth's time under Leicester of North Welsh, English and Scottish soldiers in three regiments. Later this, the oldest standing army in Europe was recruited in the region north of the Tweed, and not disbanded until 1795. King George III before hiring the Hessians tried hard to get the services of this brigade against America, but the Republic refused to allow this. In Rotterdam in the Scotch church is a memorial tablet in honor of the Scotch Brigade which was in active service until 1795.—ED.

John Paget was in 1598 minister at Northampton, Cheshire. In 1605 he went over to Holland as chaplain in the regiments, levied in England by the States. After January 18, 1605, he agreed to the Dutch Confession of Faith. On the 5th of February following he was installed pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Amsterdam, to whom the day before, the church on the Begynhof had assigned and given by the city. Until his death August 18, 1638, Paget was the pastor of this church.

**In this same edifice of the church in the Begyn Hof., Amsterdam, of which Paget was pastor is a bronze tablet in honor of the Free Churchmen and also stained glass memorial windows—unveiled by the editor in 1820.—ED.

ONE IN CHRIST

1609—FROM . SCROOBY . TO . AMSTERDAM—1909

AINSWORTH . JOHNSON . ROBINSON . BREWSTER . BRADFORD
BY . A . JOINT . CONSENT . THEY . RESOLVED . TO
GO . INTO . THE . LOW . COUNTRIES

WHERE . THEY . HEARD . WAS . FREEDOM . OF . RELIGION . FOR . ALL . MEN
AND LIVED AT AMSTERDAM
GOVERNOR . WILLIAM . BRADFORD :
HISTORY . OF . PLYMOUTH . PLANTATION
IN . GRATEFUL . REMEMBRANCE . AND . IN . CHRISTIAN . BROTHERHOOD
THE . CHICAGO . CONGREGATIONAL . CLUB
REAR . THIS . MEMORIAL
A.D. 1909

building, in which they worshipped for many years. It was perhaps on the occasion of recompletion of their meeting house that they issued the second Latin edition of their confession of faith, this time with an annexed list of the points in which they differed from the State Church. The first being of 1598—and the fifth English one—the first edition was dated 1596, the second 1598, the third appended to “Certayn Letters, 1602” and the fourth printed with the apology of 1604.”

It is unknown where John Smyth and his people met these first days. Perhaps in his own house, or in one of his friends. He then practiced physic at Amsterdam, having gained at Cambridge some medical knowledge. The number of his patients very soon increased, so that he need not avail himself of his pastor’s right to be maintained by the voluntary contributions of the members. Laying upon his death bed he could, indeed, declare: “I never received of them, all put together, the value of fortie shillings.” (Smyth “Retraction of errors,” page VI.)

It was no wonder that his practise increased daily. Rich people he only charged half the fee of other physicians and most of the time, refused to accept more. Of the poorer sort he took nothing. About his charity to distressed persons Thomas Pigott, in his Biography of Smyth, tells us: “On one occasion seeing one slenderly apparaled he sent him his gowne to make them clothes,” and when it was declined, because necessity was less urgent than it appeared, Smyth justified himself, though repulsed, prevented by this refusal, as fulfilling his bounden duty, according to the prescript: that he that hath two coats let him impart to him that has none. (Luke III, 11).

Smyth was generally beloved. Only a few among the English objected to him, especially afterwards, for holding different opinions on some religious and ecclesiastical points. They reproached his “inconstancy and unstable judgment

and being so suddenly carried away with things, did soon overthrow him." (Bradford, "Dialogue" page 450). Robinson (Works II, page 62) says :—" his instability and wantonness of wit in his sin and our cross." Bernard in the preface to his Christian advertisements, exclaims : " miserable people will you still be led by so changeable a chameleon ! "

Yet this inconstancy was more apparent than real. It resulted from a too scrupulous dread of impairing the inner life. " Truly, said he," we being now come into a place of liberty, are in great danger, if we look not well to our ways, for we are like men set upon the ice and therefore may easily slide and fall."

Indeed, John Smyth himself did not deny that there was some truth in what was laid to his charge. Shortly before his death he declared : " Now I have in all my writings hitherto received instruction of others, and professed my readiness to be taught by others, and therefore have I so oftentimes been accused of inconstancy, well, let them think of me as they please, I profess I have changed and shall be ready still to change for the better : and if it be their glory to be peremptory and immutable in their articles of religion, they may enjoy that glory without my envy, though not without the grief of my heart for them."

This corresponds perfectly with what Smyth wrote four years earlier, 1608, in the dedication of his " Differences of the churches of the separation :" " And although in this writing something there is which overthwarteth my former judgment in some treatise by mee formerly published : yet I would entreat the reader not to impute that as a fault unto mee : rather it should be accounted a vertue to retract errors. Know therefor that latter thoughts oftentimes are better than the former : and I do profess this (that no man account it strange) that I will every day as my errors shall be discovered confesse them and renounce them : For it is

our covenant made with our God to forsake every evill way whither in opinion or practise that shall be manifested unto us at any time : and therfor lett no plead now, as some have formerly done, these men are inconstant : they would have they know not what : They will never be satisfied and the like : For wee professe even so much as they object : That wee are inconstant in erroer : that wee would have the truth, though in many particulars we are ignorant of it : Wee will never be satisfied in endevoring to reduce the worship and ministery of the Church, to the primitive Apostolique institution from which as yet it is so farr distant : Wherfor my earnest desire is, that my last writing may be taken as my present judgment and so farre forth as it overthwarteth any former writing of myne let it be accounted a voluntary retraction and unfeyned repentance of my former errors and evil wayes before the whole earth.”

(Compare appendix B.)

Consequently, no fear of inconstancy ever enslaved him. His was a desire to possess the whole truth. Doubts of views, formerly maintained by him, continually crossed his mind. Unfortunately, this dubiety tended to cause to grow up a feeling of estrangement between him and his friends. It is no matter. Love of truth surpassed and silenced all his other feelings. It led him to extremities from which he had shrunk at first.

Soon after his arrival in Amsterdam he put the question to himself : whether the reading of a sermon and the singing out of books, though perhaps aright and edifying within the family circle, should be a part of public worship ? Smyth thought the answer could not be doubtful for a Brownist. If the latter holds that the reading of a prayer and the use of set forms of prayers is entirely inconsistent with the true worship, which should be produced out of the heart, it must be so also in preaching and singing.

“Writing and reading,” says Smyth, “nay, all letters

and characters, are invented by men, while speaking is natural. If consequently writing and reading be artificial devices, so it cannot be spiritual worship, no more than in the Old Testament the killing of sacrifices, the engraving in the stones of the high priest's breastplate, the anointing or preparing of wood and stone for the construction of a temple." From I Corinthians XIV:26 he deduced the singing of a psalm to be the utterance of the Holy Ghost, and that no one is tied either to rhythm or tune, as it would otherwise quench the spirit. Accordingly, it must be done by one person alone and not by all together, so that the joint singing in the church be abolished. On this very subject, there was afterwards a great contention in the Independent Church at Arnhem, Holland.

Further : "if the Brownist holds that the Bible is God's word, as Smyth fully believed, it is only true of the original text : of Hebrew and Greek. The translations, however excellent they may be, were but the work of men and therefore on the level of an apocryphal writing. The originals, containing more substance of truth than even the prophets and apostles can conceive, cannot be fully rendered by any translation. The original scriptures are the image of the mind of God, and a translation is but an image of the original. Even the most learned and holy men cannot in a translation express truly and fully the Holy Ghost's meaning in the originals so that their translation is equal to an apocryphal writing of an ordinary man, and if brought into the worship of God, why not likewise all other apocryphal writings ?

To this Hugh Bromhead, a member of Smyth's Church, agreed. He wrote, probably in August, 1607. " No apocrypha must be brought into the public assemblies, for there only God's word and the lively voice of His own grace must be heard in the public assemblies, but men's writing and the reading them over for prayers are apocrypha,

therefore may not be brought into the public assemblies."

The minister should, accordingly, employ only the original text and translate and expound it publicly. Finally, a part of the common worship is the action of contribution, which should be sanctified by prayer and thanksgiving. This acknowledgment includes the truth that contribution is an action of the communion of the saints ; and, therefore, the gifts of those not belonging to the congregation, but attending upon the service, should be kept separate.

Another of John Smyth's objections was the constitution the church. The Brownists were headed by a pastor having under or next to him two sorts of elders : the one are to teach and aid in preaching ; the other are church-governors, who, as a rule, looked only after the discipline.

Now, again, searching the Scriptures, Smyth concluded that there had been in the apostolic churches but one sort of elders, or overseers, who were charged with both preaching and ruling, and who, all of them, were pastors, having the same equal rights and duties. Next to them were the deacons. Accordingly, Smyth said, that it can never be proved that there was but one pastor in a church. It was, moreover, a corruption, that nothing could be done in the church without the Consistory's consent and that no member of the Church could offer anything for consideration without first acquainting the elders with it, as the Consistory had been invested with all its power exclusively by the members of the church, who were, even in a clergyman's absence, entitled to administer baptism and communion.

John Smyth's opinion on the value of the translation of the Holy Scripture was the chief cause of tart discussions between him and Henry Ainsworth. The latter said in his " Defence of H. Scriptures " that he had five times confuted *viva voce* this opinion. It even led to some estrangement between the sister churches. What wonder ? It was

displayed in every service, when Smyth read out his text in the original language and expounded it. The difference became still more manifest when it was made a practical rule immediately after the Bible reading to lay aside the books to abolish totally the singing of psalms, and to say a prayer before and after the collection.

Trusting in his personal influence, Francis Johnson probably tried to check these innovations, but this only gave the impulse to Smyth's objections already mentioned against the constitution and power of the Consistory. A pamphlet of thirty-two pages 16 mo. issued by Smyth about July 1607 and entitled ; "Principles and inferences concerning the visible Church," was in 1608, followed by another one of forty quarto pages under the title of : "The differences of the churches of the separation."* This was not publicly confuted until one year later, 1609, in Henry Ainsworth's "Defence of the Holy Scriptures."

However vivid these discussions in print might have been, they did not become the talk of the town. The public never got information about these matters until John Smyth and his followers had abandoned the Brownists for good. From that moment, 1609, Henry Ainsworth's reason for observing privacy was removed. He published a vigorous confutation against the man who, as he said, "fighteth against the faith which he himself once professed, and who after having drunk the wine of violence (Proverbs IV, 17) proclaimeth open war against God's everlasting Covenant."

* See the reprint in Appendix B.

CHAPTER XIV

THE REMAINING SCROOBY CONGREGATION FLEES TO HOLLAND

MEANWHILE, it became an eventful time for the Brownists at large. The remaining portion of Smyth's congregation at Scrooby, now guided and kept by Richard Clyfton, John Robinson and William Brewster, was persecuted with increasing vigour.

So, after they had continued together about a year, or, since the autumn of 1606, and kept their religious assemblies, in spite of all diligence and malice of their opponents, these villagers in the north country of England resolved on getting over into Holland. They met, however, with great difficulties of which Governor Bradford in his "History of Plymouth Plantation" tells us, in a long passage which is familiar to readers in every country in which the English language is spoken.

About May, 1608 all of them Separatists (from Scrooby and the north region) had arrived in Amsterdam, numbering in all probably three to four hundred souls of whom nearly two hundred were members of the church. A few, such as the old, decrepit teacher Richard Clyfton, could not yet determine as to making the passage across the North Sea. According to the family records published by Hunter in his "Collections concerning the founders of New Plymouth," page 44, Clyfton did not come over until August 1608, (and not in 1606, as Hanbury in his "Memorials" page 185, nor in 1607, as Prince's "Memorial," page 254, misstate.)

Left by his congregation, Clyfton went to Sutton, probably Long-Sutton in Lincolnshire, where he was still teacher in July 1608. (See No. 52 of appended List of marriages.* As to the rest, the weakest and most indigent

*See Appendix A.

ones came first. John Robinson and William Brewster stayed to help the weakest over before them and stayed until the last. Though not mentioned by William Bradford, I suppose that Thomas Helwys was also among the finals, as it is said ; “ that he above all, either guides others or furthered this passage into strange countries.”

However, his wife Jane, apprehended for Brownism in July 1607, was still suspected one year later in July 1608. Had Thomas and she already left in 1607, or early in 1608, for Holland, this suspicion would not have been so easily excited.

The Amsterdam Brownists, and certainly most particularly their old friends and former pastor John Smyth rejoiced at the arrival in the republic of John Robinson, William Brewster and Thomas Helwys. They met with a welcome reception. They communicated to Smyth what, since his departure, had happened in England. Either they told him, or he learned it from a letter of Clyfton, that Richard Bernard had signed the articles of the State-church, had been restored to his vicarship at Worksop and was now longing for the still larger office of prebendary of Sawenby and at Gainsborough.

In a letter to Helwys, Bernard had spoken slightly of Smyth’s last pamphlet : “ Principles and Influences.” Irritated over both this and his apostasy, to which he referred—more biblically than elegantly, according to 2 Peter II, 22 :—“ the dog is turned to his own vomit again ; and the sow that was washed to her wallowing in the mire,” Smyth wrote him at once a letter. He inserted this letter in his “ Paralleles ” and stated in the preface to it :—“ Mr. Bernard had in his hands this lettre of myne six or seven months before he published this his book, entitled the Seperatists Schisme.”

This book, bearing date, June 18, 1608, shows that Smyth’s first letter must have been written about November

1607. In reply to it, Richard Bernard published, June 1608 his "Christian advertisements and counsels of peace. Also disswasions from the Separatists Schisme," etc. It called forth in 1608 Ainsworth's "Counterpoyson," and in 1609 Smyth's "Paralleles". These again were followed by Bernard's "Plaine Evidences: the Church of England is apostolicall; the Separation Schismaticall, directed against Mr. Ainsworth the separatist and Mr. Smyth the se-baptist, 1610." In the same year, John Robinson at last published his "Justification of Separation," which, too, was against Richard Bernard.

This battle of the books and of men ended without notable success. Both parties stuck to their own opinions and there was no compromise on either side. John Smyth and Richard Bernard alike reproached each other with great inconstancy. According to Smyth's "Paralleles", Bernard was "as changable as the moone, as mutable as Proteus, as variable as the chamaelon"; while Bernard said of Smyth in the preface to his "Plaine Evidences";—"his judgement is instabilitie itselfe, his course is as changeable as the moone. Miserable people! will you still be misled by so changeable a chamaelon?"

Indeed, the accusations brought against Smyth were, in some degree, countenanced by the English who had come from Scrooby.

CHAPTER XV

JOHN SMYTH'S SE-BAPTISM AND SEPARATION FROM THE BROWNISTS

JUST at the very time of the arrival of the English from Scrooby the controversy about the use of Bibles and prayer books, the value of translations of the Bible, the way of collecting and, more especially, about the composition and authority of the Consistory, was in full force. Though acquainted and on friendly terms with John Smyth, many of the newcomers, therefore, hesitated to side with either party.

John Robinson, the pastor of Scrooby, was probably hesitant about parting with his dignity in yielding to Francis Johnson's authority. His connection to Smyth, however, was so close that Joseph Hall, in his letter to Mr. Smyth and to Mr. Robinson. mentions him in the same breath with Smyth as the ringleaders of the separation at Amsterdam in 1608. One year and a half after, Hall, jestingly apologizing, said in his "Common Apology of the Church of England," page 31 : "as for the title ringleader where-with I styled this pamphleteer (Robinson), if I have given him too much honor in his sect, I am sorry. Perhaps, I should have put him in the tail of his train. Perhaps, I should have endorsed my letter : to Mr. Smyth and his shadow, as I perceive he was."

On account of Robinson's wavering attitude, it was for Smyth certainly a matter of double importance to win Richard Clyfton, whom he, in truth valued so highly. He sent him, probably in the beginning of 1608, two propositions, on which he wanted to learn his opinion. Perhaps Clyfton had already detected in Smyth's democratic striving for the power of the congregation against the oligarchy of the Consistory, and in his objection against divers sorts of

elders, traces of Anabaptical tendencies, or rather of Mennonite influence. If so, this suspicion must have been greatly strengthened by these propositions. They read :

- 1st, infants should not be baptised.
- 2nd, those converted from infidelity to the faith must be admitted to the Church by baptism.

Brownism inevitably falls to Anabaptism and this Joseph Hall shows in a trenchant style. He says : "there is no remedy, you must go forward into Anabaptism, or come back to us ; all your Rabbins cannot answer the charge of your rebaptised brother John Smyth : if we be a true Church you must retain us ; if not, you must rebaptise. If our baptism is good, then is our constitution good. He tells you true, your station is unsafe, either you must forward to him or back to us."

And in his letter he reproaches Robinson and Smyth with living at Amsterdam "in the stench of Judaism, Arianism, Anabaptism," to which Robinson replied : "We have nothing common with Jews, Arians and Anabaptists but the streets and market place."

Clyfton replied March 14, 1608, to the propositions with a sharp exhortation. Ten days later he received from Smyth an elaborate answer consisting of seventy-one quarto pages, which still more warmly advocated baptism on confession of faith. Its final words run : "thus hoping speedily either to hear an answer to this writing or to see you yield to the truth, which I unfeignedly ask the Lord for you, my countrymen, I end writing this the 24th day of March, 1608."

Smyth still always cherishing hopes to win Clyfton to his own views, wrote with moderation. Nor did he publish his writing. Should ever his wish be fulfilled, it would be better not to let anybody meddle with their dispute. Provisionally, it was only a question between these two. Clyfton says ; "Seeing I had received the copie of Mr.

Smyth's book *in written hand*, which he purposely sent unto me as a reply to my former answer to his two Anabaptistical positions, where unto I had almost finished this my second answer ("A plea for infants) *before his book was printed.*"

With Henry Ainsworth, John Smyth was on quite different terms. He did not expect him ever to adopt his views. He took it very ill of him to have rejected, in his confutation of Richard Bernard, a few of his doctrines. Of Clyfton's rejoinder, he had far better expectations.

At last, August 1608, Clyfton came from Longsutton to Holland. He had in vain flattered himself with the hope of being left alone, because of his age and bad health. But when Clyfton joined Francis Johnson, John Smyth had, as he states in his "Plea for infants," to renounce all hope. Yet, in no long time, Smyth took the great decisive step and separated himself from the Brownists for ever.

This end had been foreseen. A man like Smyth never shrinks from the consequences resulting from what he considers to be truth. For a year he had been convinced of the invalidity of infant baptism. He had defended the idea of restricting baptism to adults on confession of faith. But he was still at a loss to decide, how to commence this practice in his Church? If he administered this sacrament in virtue of his office, should he himself then first not be baptised on confession of faith? Was baptism received from one unbaptized valid.

To Smyth's mind, the obstacle was to be overcome. They were surrounded by at least three Mennonite churches: that of the Flemish, of the Frisons, of the United High German and Waterlanders. Particularly with the least one, Smyth had already come in contact. From it he borrowed his views on the ministry, nay, even on baptism itself. Why not, for baptism, resort to one of its elders who indeed had been properly and lawfully baptised? Here was the root of the difficulty. Could Smyth do so with a clear

conscience? It would be acknowledging this congregation to be the true Church of Christ, and this was contrary to his conviction and, therefore, sinful for him to do. There was but one way out.

For a long time, already, in his writings against Richard Bernard, Smyth held the opinion that the *successio apostolica*, the very stumbling stone between Catholics and Protestants, did not exist; and that, owing to the corruptions of the Roman Catholic Church, as to doctrine, rule and administration of the sacraments, an uninterrupted succession of true Christian ministers, who, since the apostles' time, delivered the truth from generation to generation, is out of question.

In his last tract, Smyth wrote: "I hold as I have written to Mr. Bernard, that this succession is abolished by the Church of Rome, and that there is no true ministry derived from the apostles through the Church of Rome to England, but that the succession is interrupted and broken off. Succession being broken off and interrupted, it may by two or three gathered together in the name of Christ be renewed and assumed again."

From Matthew XVIII, 20:—"For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them"—Smyth concluded and wrote ("Character of the Beast," page 58):—"if all the commandments of God must be obeyed, then this of baptism, and this warrant is sufficient for assuming baptism. Now, for baptizing a man's self, there is as good warrant as for a man's churching himself: for two men singly are no church, jointly they are a church, and they both of them put a church upon themselves, for as both these persons unchurched, yet have power to assume the church, each of them for himself and others in communion, so each of them unbaptized hath power to assume baptism for himself with others in communion."

Such was Smyth's opinion. Such was what he taught his friend Helwys and the members of his church, who readily attended his teachings. And what Smyth thought and taught, he also practiced. In a solemn divine service, before them all, he baptized himself on confession of faith.

From partiality, the historians of the Baptists : Crosby, Taylor, Ivimey, unjustly deny this fact. According to John Robinson (*Works III*, page 168) Smyth baptized first himself and next Helwys and so the rest, making their particular confessions. They numbered fully forty. The records of the Amsterdam Mennonite congregation contain a list of fifteen men and seventeen women, who own to have been baptised in this manner, and say that they regret it. Other sources tell us that there were still another ten, not recorded in this list, as they did not repent of it.

This baptism not only involved separation from the Brownists for ever, but also the formation of the first congregation of English Teleiobaptists.

During the sixteenth century, there were in England these Dutch Mennonites. For the greater part, if not exclusively, they consisted of these refugees from the Netherlands.

Excommunication of Smyth and his followers by the Brownists, of which mention is nowhere made, was, indeed, rendered unnecessary, as the fact itself led to their separation. It, probably, took place in 1608. Of course, Smyth could not have resolved on editing "The Character of the Beast" before leaving the Brownist Church. The book was published January 1609, and his "Paralleles" a few days before, as Henry Ainsworth states, in his "Defence", page 119. The printing and preparation of both books (together thirty six sheets) must certainly have taken three mouths.

Richard Bernard, Smyth's former competitor, and now his violent opponent, thereafter called him a se-baptist—a

gibe warmly applauded and readily adopted by all his partisans. In his "Plaine Evidences" 1610, page 17, Bernard writes :—"he wanted, I know, a godfather, when he was christened againe ; now it is an ancient custome to name then the childe and the susceptors to give it. Indeed I was not requested by this childe's parents to be an undertaker, nevertheless upon so extraordinarie an act, I will be somewhat exorbitant with myself to cal him Mr. John Smith the anabaptisticall se-baptist. He is anabaptisticall for rebaptization and he is a se-baptist because he did baptize himself."

John Smyth confirmed his removal by the publication of two writings : the already mentioned " Paralleles, Censures, Observations," directed against Richard Bernard ; and the treatise on baptism, sent to Richard Clyfton, to which was added a sharp preface and a not less sharp epilogue, all together under the title of : "The character of the beast"—the latter word referring to the beast in the Revelation of St. John ; and character, to infant baptism.

CHAPTER XVI

THE CONGREGATION OF FRANCIS JOHNSON AND OF HENRY AINSWORTH

SO far as appearances went, the congregation of Francis Johnson and Henry Ainsworth suffered less by John Smyth's renouncing Brownism, than many had probably expected. It assembled as often as before. Smyth and his people had never joined them and the number of members transferred to the new congregation, if any, was certainly not large. Yet a stricter examination will show that Smyth's withdrawal had important and in some respects fatal effects.

John Robinson was disgusted with their controversy. He was now glad of having always refused to join Mr. Smyth, because, as he declared, he would use his liberty in this point. Having now lost his friend Smyth for ever, he carried out the plan long before formed, to leave Amsterdam with his people and settle down at Leyden. He at once applied* to the lords, Burgomasters and the Court of

* In the Journal of the Court of Justice of the city of Leyden, G. page 34, there is the following petition, written in Dutch :—

"To my Hon. Lords, my Lords, Burgomaster and Court of Justice of the City of Leyden,

beg leave, respectfully and obediently, to acquaint, Jan Robarthse, minister of God's word, together with some of the church of the Christian Reformed Religion, born in the Kingdom of Great Britain, to the number of one hundred or thereabout, as well men as women, that they would intend to come and settle down within this city and the jurisdiction thereof, one of these days, viz., towards May next, to earn their livelihood by their various trades and traffics, without, however, causing the leave hindrance to anyone soever,—so it is that supplicants apply to Your Honourable, praying most urgently that it may please Your Honourable to grant them free consent to go to aforesaid city; that is to say, &c.—"

In the margin is noted :—

"Those of the Court of Justice, deciding in the present request, declare that they do not refuse any honest person to come and settle down within this city, provided that they behave themselves honestly and obey to all regulations and by-laws of this place, in case of which suppliants' arrival here will be welcome and agreeable to them."

Done in their meeting at the Townhall, the 12th of February 1609, on that date, in my presence, and signed

J. VAN HOUT."

Justice of the city of Leyden for permission to do so. It was granted February 12, 1609.

John Robinson came to Leyden about the first of May in that year, the very date named in his petition. This date corresponds to what Prince ("New England Chronology," page 254) states:—"they therefore with Mr. Robinson remove to Leyden about the beginning of the twelve-years-truce between the Dutch and Spaniards". This truce dates from the 9th of April 1609.

Robinson was accompanied by more than a hundred persons, both men and women, as his petition says. Perhaps double the number! When eleven years afterwards, fully one hundred of his people took the great voyage to America, there still remained in Leyden from one hundred-twenty to one hundred and fifty members, though during these eleven years the congregation was on the decline.

From the List of passengers of the "Mayflower"*(see appendix C), we can see that the true number of emigrants on this ship was one hundred and two, while according to Winslow's "Brief narration" (Young, "Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers," page 384):—"the major part stayed and the pastor with them for the present. The minor part with Mr. Brewster their elder resolved to enter upon this great work, but take notice the difference of number was not great."

The congregation of Leyden, consequently, must, about 1620 have numbered something like two hundred and fifty souls. But having diminished in number since its arrival at Leyden, which diminution was one of the pressing reasons of its members for setting out, it will at first, shortly after its establishment in Leyden, likely have been

* The real number leaving Leyden and the core and real spirit of the Plymouth Colony, from first to last was the company that embarked on the Speedwell from Delfshaven. Not as many as forty (probably 35 in all) who had been of the Leyden church sailed on the Mayflower.—(ED.)

some three hundred. At their departure from Amsterdam, I estimate its number at two hundred, but governor Bradford tells us, that many came unto them from divers parts of England, so as they grew to be a great congregation, not much fewer in number than the one of Amsterdam, having had, before the brethren left for Leyden, three hundred members. It is, therefore, probable that Francis Johnson's congregation lost by this departure to Leyden fully hundred, perhaps hundred and thirty or hundred and forty members, and these followers of John Robinson numbered some two hundred, children included.

To trace the further adventures of this congregation, guided by John Robinson ; the history of the Independents, originating with them, with the assistance, too, of Henry Jacob ; the colonization of its majority in New Plymouth and its dispersion from Leyden after its founder's death—is not now our province. Suffice it to say, that the departure of the Brownists to Leyden was a great loss to Francis Johnson and Henry Ainsworth's congregation. Its number fell to far below two hundred members.

Besides, its peace was disturbed. In vain Henry Ainsworth repeated in his book "The Communion of Saints, 1607,* "the never superfluous exhortation to harmony. In vain Ainsworth and Johnson agreed with each other :— "when others therefore, as namely, Mr. Smyth, wrote against the truth, which they formerly professed, not to answer, till the second or third time we were exceedingly provoked, for we considered how the common adversary would rejoice at our intestine troubles." (Henry Ainsworth, animadversion to Mr. Richard Clyfton's "Advertisement," page 3).

In vain Francis Johnson kept his warlike spirit in check,

*This well written treatise became an edifying book for family use, even among people of different opinion, and was reprinted in 1615, 1628, 1640, and for the last time in 1789 by Stevart, incorporated, with "An arrow against Idolatry."

and only issued his "Certayne reasons and arguments," which treatise, he says (page 1 of the dedication) : "was for the substance of it written long since (1601) in nine reasons, which now I have revived and deduced to seven." It called forth a refutation of W. Bradshaw : "The unreasonableness of the separation," published, under revision of Amesius, by George Waters, in 1614, at Dordrecht. John Robinson, too, made some objections to it in his treatise entitled "Of the lawfulness of hearing of the ministers of the Church of England." (Works III, page 360.)

All these efforts to preserve peace in the congregation were, however, to no purpose. On the other hand, Ainsworth, Clyfton and Johnson's hot polemics, as soon as Smyth renounced Brownism, did nowise affect that peace.

Henry Ainsworth was not wanting in words to reprove John Smyth. In the preface to his "A defence of the Holy Scriptures" we read: "the fraud and malignity of this boaster," and at the end of it: "God's hand is heavy upon him, in giving him over from error to error and now at last to the abomination of Anabaptism."

Clyfton vented his indignation in his "A plea for infants and elder people concerning their baptism, 1610," to which, still in the same year, John Smyth made answer with "A replie to Mr. Clyfton's plea."

It seems remarkable that Francis Johnson was the only one of them who treated the dispute on baptism in a strictly objective manner, exempt from all personalities. Probably on account thereof, Smyth passed over in silence Johnson's book "A brief treatise containing some grounds and reasons against two errors of the Anabaptists." The imprint book bears no date, but must have been published at the end of 1609 or in 1610, and certainly after 1608, the date fixed by Underhill ("Tracts on liberty of religion," page 73).

Moreover, one J. H. ("none of Rabbies but one of the

unlearned babies" published in 1610 a vehement pamphlet against John Smyth.

The attacks upon Brownism by Joseph Hall, the afterwards famous bishop of Norwich, produced little effect, being considered as chiefly directed against Robinson and Smyth individually. Joseph Hall's letter precedes Robinson's answer to it in his Works III, page 401. No reply was returned to Joseph Hall's "A Common Apology of the Church of England, in 1610," he ridiculed Robinson:—"what is, become of your partner, yea, your guide? Woe is me! he hath washed off his former water with new, he hath washed off thy font-water as unclean and hath written desperately both against thee and his own fellows."

This paper-war, I repeat, was not at all fatal to the congregation. Danger did not threaten from without, but perils were hidden within.

The effects of Smyth's objections, to submit the brotherhood to the power of the Consistory, were still operative on many members. To that question, and not to the controversy with John Smyth, who had departed from the Brownists for ever, Bradford refers in his "Plymouth Plantation," page 16. He there states as one reason for John Robinson's removal to Leyden, in May 1609—"the flames of contention were like to breake out in the anciente church it selfe, as afterwards lamentably came to pass."

Indeed, the twenty-fourth article of the Confession of Faith says, that Christ had given the power of admitting and cutting off members to the body of the church, of each congregation and not to any particular common person, though with this restriction that every man ought to do his utmost and use the most meet member to pronounce sentence in the public assembly. Doubtless, the power of excommunication was, therefore, in the whole brotherhood. It was nowise abridged of this right by the nineteenth and twenty-sixth articles. Concerning Shepherds, teachers,

elders, deacons : particular persons whose official duties are to rule, oversee, visit and watch over the church."

Henry Ainsworth agreed to the same opinion in his "Communion of Saints" he advocated the members' rights by referring to the Apostles' days, when the body of believers took part in church affairs, elected, ordained, if necessity be, punished their ministers, decided in matters of question and dispute, and punished or cut off impenitents by excommunication. These privileges, he argues, pertain to all members of all congregations, but in order that this power be used with discretion and in a proper way, be exceeded or abused, to the detriment of others, the ministers are to see to it. Consequently, these only were qualified to prepare and direct affairs ; but elections and taking resolutions pertain exclusively to the congregation.

On discipline Henry Ainsworth wrote : ("Communion of Saints," chapters 18 and 22) :—“chiefly this pertaineth to the ministers and watchmen of the church”,—to which, however, precedes :—“the keeping of these rules belongeth to *all* the saints, as the commandments directed of old to the children of Israel and in the New Testament to *all* the brethren and church do show.” Still more positively, he defines it in his “Animadversion to Mr. Clyfton's advertisement, 1613” :—for the people being kings we neither taught nor do teach otherwise than as we always professed, namely: that they are a royal priesthood, made by Christ unto God, kings and priests, and that reign on the earth, not one over another, but one with another. Every Christian is a king and priest unto God, to spy out, censure and cut down sin, as it ariseth, with that two-edged sword, that proceedeth out of Christ's mouth To the ministers it is given to feed, govern and guide the Church, but not themselves to be the Church and to challenge the power of the same in things pertaining to the Kingdom of God Such

giving place to the usurpation of the ministers was the means of Antichrist's beginning and climbing to his pre-eminence, which, had the people resisted at first and practised the Gospel in the order set by Christ, he could not have prevailed If the holding otherwise in judgment should let the true practice of the Gospel go, posterity after us being brought into bondage, might justly blame and curse us, that would not stand for the right of the people in that, which we acknowledge to be their due."

This was not Francis Johnson's opinion, nor that of his elders Studley and Blackwell. Bradford ("Plymouth Plantation" page 39) says:—"Blackwell declined from the truth with Mr. Johnson and the rest and went with him, when they parted asunder in that wofull manner, which brought so great dishonour to God, scandall to the truth and outward ruine to themselves in this world."

Johnson was too jealous of his authority, and had too often been thwarted by the resolutions of the brotherhood—we remember the difference with his brother George—to submit to the established order. According to him, it was a fruitful source of odd opinions and errors, of lamentable discords and schism, of aversion and opposition to the Consistory, of contention and dissension between the congregation.

Johnson's opinion displayed itself since 1608 : first before John Smyth, and next before Henry Ainsworth, and is best known by the remonstrance written by him in 1610 and published in 1611, under the title of :—"A short treatise concerning the exposition of these words of Christ :—‘tell it unto the Church’", etc. (Matthew XVIII, 17).

In the "Apology of the Brownists" (1604) he had maintained that the church has the same power to cast out as to admit and add members to it. Otherwise, the word "Church" of Christ, as used in Matthew XVII, 17, could

not be taken for the whole body of the church, but only for some of its members, viz: the elders or bishops. He had now, however, come to the conclusion that this theory was false and could not be proved from the Scriptures. Referring to various portions of the Old Testament, wherein the "whole congregation of Israel" clearly means the "elders or judges", he said that Jesus' words, Matthew XVIII, 17: Church" had no other meaning than :—tell it unto the Consistory.

Here he followed John Calvin in his exegesis. To illustrate this view of his he shows how the sisters, if matters of church-discipline were to be discussed in the public assembly for worship, would be deprived of their right of accusation, as according to I Corinthians XIV, 34 and 35, they are to keep silence in the church. But he states "the church, spoken of Matthew XVIII, 17, is such an assembly where women may speak and be heard in their cases and pleas, as well as men, whereas by the Apostle's doctrine from the Law, it is not permitted to women to speak in the churches of the saints, when the whole church cometh together for the worship of God."

Paget in his "Arrow against the Separation" reproaches the Brownists thus:—" You turn the Lord's day into a session or courtday, omitting and thrusting out in part sometimes the administration of the Word and sacraments by spending so much time in controversies and contentions."

Francis Johnson, pointed out also the difficulties arising when these matters could not all be finished on a Sunday, as it was known by experience that on a week day, seldom half of the congregation was present. He says:—" As our estate is, we could hear no matters of controversy between the brethren out on the Lord's day, and we have done amiss in that very practice, when we heard matters on the week day, as we have been wont, at which time there was seldom half the church together."

Plenty of reasons, there were, he concludes, why the whole church-discipline should be committed exclusively to the Consistory.

This may not conform to the Confession of Faith, but "divers things, heretofore observed among us at first, we have since altered and do from time to time alter and amend, as God giveth us by his Word to discern better therein." Though apparently contrary to the letter of Jesus' prescript, it would only be Anabaptistical slavery of the letter to be kept from it on account thereof."

In the preface to the aforesaid treatise, he speaks of the Anabaptists pressing the letter and he spares no trouble to "discover the erroneous confused courses of the Anabaptists." With the same sort of slavery of the letter, he reproaches the Mennonites, because of their explanation of Matthew XXVIII, 19; v. 34 and 39; and he thus concludes:—"so have many of us done likewise about these words of Christ, Matthew XVIII, 17."

According to Francis Johnson, the congregation or brotherhood had consequently no power whatever over matters of discipline. It belonged to it only to appoint and, in case of vacancies, to supplement the Consistory. In opposition to the whole congregation, the Consistory could excommunicate a member, and never, not even if a member of the Consistory is found to be heretical or absolutely wicked and immoral, has the congregation a right to depose him or reject him from the church.

Henry Ainsworth was flat against this innovation. This is shown in his "An Animadversion to Mr. Clyfton's Advertisement," published in 1613. The controversy grew worse and became quite personal when the well known elder Daniel Studley was accused of immorality and fifteen brethren insisted on his dismissal.

In an answer to the accusations and objections against

him, Studley owned that his conduct had been unseemly, but denied that he was guilty of what had been laid to his charge. Of the efforts to depose him, he says :—" here was a beginning to tread the pathway unto popular government, the very bane to all good order in church and commonweal."

Yet Henry Ainsworth always cherished the hope of coming to an understanding. He suggested at first that all be forgiven and forgotten, provided the congregation's rights be not abridged in future. This proposal was rejected. He next advised the separation of his followers from them in peace, to organize a distinct church next to theirs, but associated with them in brotherly love and concord.

This proposition was also rejected—unless they removed permanently out of Amsterdam, but this on account of the necessity of gaining their livelihood, was rather impracticable. Finally he said, let us refer to Robinson's Church of Leyden for a friendly council and intervention. This, indeed, agrees with Article 38 of the Confession of Faith, dictating :—"in case of weighty matter or extreme difficulties to assist the one the other in word and deed."

Francis Johnson, however, stated that this stipulation should be void, as soon as disputes had arisen in a church. In the present case, they had better ask the opinion of the Dutch Reformed, or of the Walloon churches. No wonder ! Both vested the power of discipline and excommunication in the Consistory, while John Robinson and his church followed the usages defended by Henry Ainsworth. At the utmost, and only as an unavoidable evil, Francis Johnson and his Consistory, they said, would admit the intervention of the Leyden Church, if this one did so of its own accord, or was privately asked for it.

Some thirty brethren, siding with Henry Ainsworth, made the attempt. An official invitation, however, was

required. The Leyden Consistory wavered a long time in coming to a decision. All that was effected was that Henry Ainsworth, who had been dismissed, was restored to his office, and finally, November 14, 1610, it was suggested that henceforth church-discipline should be committed to the Consistory, and in case of diversity of opinion only, to lay the matter before the brotherhood and then decide the concurrence of the Consistory.

It was all in vain. Francis Johnson rejected the idea. He made the counter proposal that Henry Ainsworth and his followers should transfer their membership to Robinson's Church. For the sake of peace they were about to do so, when Johnson stipulated that they must remove out of Amsterdam forever and settle down in Leyden. Herein they could not acquiesce.

As said before, to give up their livelihood here in Amsterdam would mean total ruin to themselves and their families.

Still always hoping that Johnson might change his mind, they, at the instance of Ainsworth, put on patience as a garment and wore it for a great length of time.

The Leyden congregation praised them for the "peacable inclination which they manifested," but could not better their condition. "What could we do else, exclaimed Ainsworth wofully, than shake off the dust of our feet towards these zealots for errors and peace breakers, though we do not doubt whether we ourselves, in consequence of ignorance and imperfectness, have done a good deal of wrong during our great sufferings and troubles, for which we have prayad God, and do still always pray, so that even our hidden sins may be forgiven."

Though the sad dispute had started early in the spring of 1609, when John Robinson was prompted to depart from Amsterdam, the attempts to come to an agreement lasted a full year from December 1609. At last Henry Ainsworth's followers, Francis Johnson says, divided themselves from

us, which they professed that day and parted the next, December 15 and 16, 1610.*

Now Francis Johnson dismissed Henry Ainsworth from his office immediately. Both Lawne and Paget state this conclusively. The latter says: "you being deposed from the office of a teacher by Mr. Johnson and his company for your schism and rending from him." Baillie in his "Dissuasive," page 15, maintains that they excommunicated, to and fro, each other with solemnity. Yet Cotton, in his "Way of Congregational Churches," page 6, denies such on the part of Henry Ainsworth. He says: "Mr. Ainsworth and his Company did *not* excommunicate Mr. Johnson and his, but only withdrew from them."

* Dexter ("Congregationalism," page 331, note 155) gathered, from what Paget in his "Arrow against the separation" says, that the separating did not take place until the 25th of December, and Johnson, consequently, adhered, in his statement, to the Old Style. This strikes me as improbable, as the new style is always found among the Brownists, residing in Holland. Indeed, Paget's words seem rather to refer to the first divine service held by Ainsworth after the separation of December 25, 1610; being on a Monday: "a memorable token at one time especially, the time of your rending from Mr. Johnson, being on a Christmas day so called, unto which day you had changed the ordinary time of your assembling in the week."

CHAPTER XVII

THE JOHNSONIANS AND THE AINSWORTHIANS

TEN days after their separation from Johnson's Congregation, it was on a second Christmas-day, the Ainsworthians held their first divine service in a spacious room, where once some Jews had assembled for worship, before the first public synagogue was erected at Amsterdam in 1612.

Paget ("Arrow of Separation," page 26) reproaches them for this :—"you have not refused after your division and rent from Mr. Johnson to meet together for the service of God in the idol-temple of the Jews, where they had exercised their idol-service before you."

Unfortunately, this room happened to be in a building next door but one to the Johnsonians' old meeting-place. It was inevitable that the church-goers of Henry Ainsworth and of Francis Johnson should meet one another. Now those who used to present jointly their prayers to God, who were closely connected to each other by sharing the hardships of exile, who had become allied by marriage, or were, far more still, joined by the most tender ties of blood—saw the one the other go in at different doors to perform their worship.

There were a good many, who wept bitter tears produced by this separation. They could not stand the exclusion from their circle of so large a number of pious persons, who had been dear to them from childhood. Day and night they prayed that conformity might be restored. Yet they durst not show a friendly face to the beloved Separatists, lest they might incur punishment. To avoid the congregation's displeasure, anything was borne. Even Christian Lawne, one of their most violent opponents, bears witness to this, in his "Brownisme turned the Inside outward 1613."

Before long there were even new reasons for provocation

and affliction. In 1612 a libel was published, entitled : "C. Hutton, the prophane Schisme of the Brownists or Separatists, with the impietie, dissensions, lewd and abominable vices of that impure sect, discovered by C. Lawne, J. Fowler, C. Saunders, R. Bulward, lately returned from the companie of Mr. Johnson, that wicked brother, into the bosome of the Church of England, their true Mother."

This screed represented matters and events in the most malicious manner. It repeated the accusations against Thomas White. Its chief purpose was to bring Francis Johnson and his friend Studley into contempt. Nor did it spare Henry Ainsworth. It was cunningly struck out by four men, formerly members of Johnson's church, but excommunicated July 25, 1611, for having joined the Presbyterians of Amsterdam.

Richard Clyfton argued against this libel in his book, "An advertisement concerning a Book lately published by Christian Lawne and others, 1612". This pamphlet contained for the greater part Johnson and Studley's arguments.

After Ainsworth's departure, Richard Clyfton became teacher in Johnson's congregation. To him Johnson refers when saying : "one that was minister in the Church of England and since chosen teacher of this church and received among us without any new imposition of hands."

The Ainsworthians answered Johnson, in regard to this innovation, which the latter defended by saying, there had already been imposition of hands when Clyfton was ordained minister of the State-church, and that there was no more ground for repeating it than to rebaptize a person who had been baptized in the Church of England." According to Hunter, Clyfton had been minister at Babworth.

Clyfton's defence provoked a new, equally unworthy, and still fiercer attack, by the same four persons, under the title : "Brownisme turned the Inside outward, being a

Parallel between the Profession and the Practice of the Brownists Religion." It came forth in 1613, and not in 1603, as Hanbury, though generally correct, misstates, in his "Memorials," page 100, and in consequence thereof ranges it in an entirely wrong chronological order.

Another attempt to refute Ainsworth's assertions concerning the splitting up of the congregation is entitled : "An animadversion to Mr. Richard Clyfton's advertisement, 1613."

All these investigations of the controversy between the Johnsonians or Franciseans and the Ainsworthians,—as the separated congregations are now called : Christian Lawne speaks of the "Franciscan side, were of course fatal to a reconciliation. The breach, daily widened by the quarrel which sprang up over the property in the church building.

During this difficulty and in persuading his followers to acquiesce in the loss and not carry the case before the magistrate. But at last, in 1612, three members, two brethren and one sister, who at the time had contributed the largest amount to the building of the church desired to submit their claim to the judgment of impartial arbitrators.

When Johnson was not prepared to agree to this course, to call forth a verdict of the government, Ainsworth's congregation, though averse from going to law, considered itself disqualified to forbid some of its members from so doing.

They appointed beforehand a committee, in case the magistrate might require them to produce evidence of their rights against those of Francis Johnson's congregation.

First, the burgomasters, and then aldermen proposed a friendly arbitration. But Johnson and his people disagreed with this view and maintained their right of property to the church building, saying the ground belonged to one of their members, and accordingly everything upon it fell to them. The proposition was dropped, and the aforesaid committee

saw itself compelled to plead the rights of Ainsworth's congregation.

It was then argued that Johnson's congregation had acted contrary to the Confession of Faith (Art. 23, 24, 29, 31, 32, 33 and 38) by abridging the power of the brotherhood in favor of that of the Consistory; by using in Clyfton's instalment no further imposition of hands; by considering the Church of England, nay, even the Church of Rome as the true Church of God, and finally by rejecting the advice and assistance of a congregation of fellow believers, like the one of Leyden.

To this document, sent to aldermen and inserted in Lawne's "Prophane schisme," I could find no allusion in the Amsterdam records.

John Robinson's refutation of Richard Bernard, published in 1610 and entitled: "A justification of separation from the Church of England," raised once more among the Brownists the question about the "true church."

Francis Johnson, who used to be of a quite different opinion, affirmed now in his only "A Christian plea," 1617, page 137, "that even the Church of Rome is the Church and temple of God, as Judah likewise and Israel of old were in the time of their apostacies: how much more then should we so esteem of the Church of England." He made a sharp distinction between the Church itself, which he still considered as divine, and the church-order, which he considered as entirely corrupted.

Henry Ainsworth, however, persisted in his former opinion, while John Robinson suggested a middle course. John Paget, in his "An arrow against the separation, 1618," states: "some separate from the Church of England for corruptions and yet confess both it and Rome also to be a true church as the followers of Mr. Johnson. Some renounce the Church of England as a false church, and yet allow private communion with the godly therein, as Mr.

Robinson and his followers. Some renounce all religious communion, both public and private, with any members of that Church whosoever, as Mr. Ainsworth and such as hearken unto him, being deepest and stiffest in their schism."

Perhaps foreseeing the possibility that the aldermen were to apply for particulars to some of the friends in England, who had contributed to the costs of the construction of the Church, the committee also sent the necessary information thither. I infer this from Clyfton's complaint, in his "Advertisement :" "they have given out the like, (viz. the communicated articles of difference) in letters sent unto England. Seeing that therein they have not as they ought handled and justified the causes, for which they separated from us, but do infinite blame unto our doctrine, as if we maintained opinions contrary to the truth, and that others also in our own country prejudiced with these matters and sinisterly professed with some of their writings against us and our cause are likewise corrupted, we have thought it good not to keep these things any longer private by us."

The decision was as might be expected. Francis Johnson had, in 1612, to give up the Church edifice with the annexed dwellings and pass them over to Ainsworth and his people. Paget affirms in his "Heresiography," page 58, that the magistrate found for the plaintiffs, who this time again were not treated as a congregation, but as private persons.

Being now without dwellings, Francis Johnson went with some of his people to Emden, upon mere hope. But they did not prosper and after some time returned.

Robert Cushman imputed their failure chiefly to Blackwell. When quoting from Baillie, "Dissuasive", page 15 he says :—"Johnson with his side of the house got away to Emden," the Dutch theologian Johannes Hoornbeck and the Dutch historian George Horn, or Hornius, add that

Henry Ainsworth repaired to Ireland and shortly afterwards returned to Amsterdam. Neal, in his "Puritans," I, page 421 repeats this information. It is probably a misrepresentation. Indeed, Henry Ainsworth had visited Ireland, and even gained there some adherents, but it was in 1593.

At his return Francis Johnson resumed his office, which he filled till his death, January 7, 1618. Bradford ("Dialogue by Young," page 445) states :—"he died at Amsterdam after his return from Emden."

The burial of Johnson took place on January 10, according to a note by Slade, and communicated by Waddington in his "Congregational History," page 192. From these authors we gather that Francis Johnson, shortly before his death sent a petition to England to be allowed to repatriate ; which request, however, was refused.

Towards the end of his life, Johnson once more attacked the defenders of baptism on profession of faith, and also the Remonstrants or Arminians with their five articles. This treatise was entitled : "A christian plea containing three treatises : the first touching the Anabaptists and others maintaining some like errors with them : the second touching such Christians as now are here commonly called Remonstrants or Arminians ; the third touching the Reformed Churches with whom myself do agree in the faith of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ."

He styles himself on the title page :—"pastor of the ancient English church now sojourning at Amsterdam", which proves also that, after his return from Emden he had a congregation of his own at Amsterdam. The treatise was apparently written on purpose to refute Henry Ainsworth, John Smyth and Thomas Helwys, and at the same time to hold a closer communion with the Dutch Reformed church. It is, therefore, very probable that most of his followers, whose pastor Clyfton had already died two years earlier, May 20, 1616, and not September 3, 1613, as Wad-

dington in his "Congregational History," page 159, misstates—transferred their membership to that church after Francis Johnson's death. Besides, few joined the emigrants accompanying their elder Blackwell when going at haphazard to Virginia, in the autumn of 1618. About that voyage Bradford in his "History of Plymouth Plantation" says :—

" Captaine Argoll, the first treasurer and governor of the Virginia Company, is come home this weeke (he upon notice of ye intente of ye Counsell, came away before Sr. George Yeardly came ther, and so ther is no small dissencion.) But his tidings are ill, though his person be welcome. He said Mr. Blackwells shipe came not ther till March 1619, but going towards winter, they had still nor-west winds, which carried them to the southward beyond their course. And ye Mr of ye ship & some 6 of ye mariners dieing, it seemed they could not find ye bay, till after long seeking & beating aboute. Mr. Blackwell is dead & Mr. Maggner, ye captain ; yea, ther are dead, he said, 130 persons, one & other in ye ship ; it is said ther was in all an 180 persons in ye ship, so as they were packed together like herings. They had amongst them ye fluxe, and allso wante of fresh water ; so as it is hear rather wondred at yt so many are alive, then that so many are dead. The mar-chants hear say it was Mr. Blackwells faulte to pack so many in ye ship ; yea, & ther were great mutterings & repinings amongst them, and upbraiding of Mr. Blackwell, for his dealing and disposing of them, when they saw how he had dispossed of them & how he insulted over them. Yea, ye streets of Gravesend runge of their extreame quar-relings, crying out one of another, Thou hast brought me to this, and, I may thanke the for this. Heavie newes it is, and I would be glad to heare how farr it will discourage I see none hear discouraged much, but rather desire to larne to beware by other mens harmes, and to amend that wherin

they have failed. As we desire to serve one another in love, so take heed of being inthraled by any imperious persone, espetially if they be discerned to have an eye to them selves. It doth often trouble me to thinke that in this bussines we are all to learne and none to teach ; but better so, then to depend upon such teachers as Mr. Blackwell was. Such a strategene he once made for Mr. Johnson & his people at Emden, wth was their subversion. But though he ther clenlily (yet unhonstly) plucked his neck out of ye collar, yet at last his foote is caught. Hear are no letters come, ye ship Captain Argole came in is yet in ye west parts all yt we hear is but his report ; it seemeth he came away secretly. The ship yt Mr. Blackwell went in will be hear shortly. It is as Mr. Robinson once said, he thought we should hear no good of them.

Mr. B(lackwell) is not well at this time ; whether he will come back to you or goe into ye north, I yet know not. For my selfe, I hope to see an end of this business ere I come, though I am sorie to be thus from you, if things had gone soundly forward, I should have been with you within these 14 days. I pray God direcete us, and give us that spirite which is fitting for such a business. Thus having sumarilily pointed at things Mr. Brewster (I thinke) hath more largely write of to Mr. Robinson, I leave you to the Lord's protection."

Signed and dated :

ROBERT CUSHMAN

London, May 8, An^o 1619.

William Bradford continues :

" A word or tow by way of digression touching this Mr. Blackwell ; he was an elder of ye church at Amsterdam, a man well known of most of them. He declined from ye truth wth Mr. Johnson & ye rest, and went with him when yeys parted asunder in yt wofull maner, wth brought so great dishonour to God, scandall to ye trueth, & outward

ruine to them selves in this world. But I hope, notwithstanding, though ye mercies of ye Lord, their souls are now et rest with him in ye heavens, and yt they are arrived in ye Haven of hapiness ; though some of their bodies were thus buried in ye terrible seas, and others sunke under ye burthen of bitter afflictions. He with some others had prepared for to goe to Virginia. And he, with sundrie godly citizens, being at a private meting (I take it a fast) in London, being discovered, many of them were apprehended, wherof Mr. Blackwell was one ; but he so glosed with ye bps, and dissembled or flatly denyed ye trueth which formerly he had maintained ; and not only so, but very unworthily betrayed and accused another godly man who had escaped, but so he might slip his own neck out of, ye collar, & to obtaine his owne freedome brought others into bonds. Wherupon he so wone ye bps favour (but lost ye Lord's) as he was not only dismayte, but in open courte ye archbishop gave him great applause and his sollemne blessing to proceed in his vioage. But if such events follow ye bps blessings, happie are they yt misse ye same ; it is much better to keepe a good conscience and ye Lords blessing, whether in life or death."

" But at last, after all these things, and their long attendance, they had a patent granted them, and confirmed under ye companies seale ; but these decissions and distractions had shaken of many of ther pretended friends, and disappointed them of much of their hoped for & proffered means.. By the advice of some friends this pattente was not taken in ye name of any of their owne, but in ye name of Mr. John Winco (a religous gentleman then belonging to ye Countess of Lincolne), who intended to goe with them. But God so disposed as he never went, nor they ever made use of this patente, which has cost them so*

It is supposed to have embraced a tract of territory near the mouth of the Hudson River. Terms, conditions, and date of issue are unknown.

much labour and charge, as by ye sequell will appeare. This patente being sent over for them to view & consider, as also the passages aboute & ye propossitions between them & such marchants & friends as should either goe or adventure with them, and espetially with those on whom yeys did cheefly depend for shipping and means, whose proffers had been large, they were requested to fitt and prepare themselves with all speed. A right emblime, it may be, of ye uncertine things of this world ; yt when men have toyld themselves for them, they vanish into smoke."

A better lot was assigned to Ainsworth's congregation. Now owning the building and under supervision of the elders Jean de l'Ecluse** Mays and Gillis Thorpe, it witnessed comparatively quiet times.

No wonder, when headed by Ainsworth, a peaceful man, who prevented and avoided all quarrels as far as possible. Surely, he saw himself compelled to reply to Francis Johnson's last attack in 1617, but he waited first for Johnson's death, and then further postponed it for nearly two years. In 1620, and not in 1618, as Hanbury ("Memorials," page 320) misstates, he issued "A reply to a pretended Christian plea for the Antichristian Church of Rome", 4^{to}, p. iv and 184.

From July 12, 1617, he had, indeed, all the year round, to refute all sorts of reproaches and accusations of John Paget, preacher in the Amsterdam Presbyterian Church,

** Jean de l' E'cluse (mentioned before), brother-in-law of William Bradford, perhaps also of his co-elder Maye, is in 1609 called a printer and in 1616 a schoolmaster. He seems to have printed T. Brightman's "Apocalypsis apocalypseos, 1609," a quarto of fully 730 pages, as, though the book is said to have been published at Frankfort, Paget in his "Heresiography," page 193, reproaches him thus : "of John de Cluse, your elder, his injurious and false dealing in the printing of Mr. Brightman's book is a public schandal."

In 1611 de l'Ecluse himself issued an advertisement against this book.

Gillis Thorpe, too, was a printer. In 1612 (C. Larone, "Prophane Schism," page 111) he was still a deacon, but in 1618 John Paget calls him "an elder with Ainsworth."

who was irritated because a member of his congregation attended the Brownist Church. Ainsworth even filled three hundred quarto pages about that question, but the thought of publication never crossed his mind. In fact he was sorry for his opponent's action.

From a series of letters, written by him, from September 4, 1609 to June 1614, to a John Ainsworth, a Roman Catholic, imprisoned in London, who wished to convert Henry to the Church of Rome, we know, that he always continued to advocate Brownism. These letters, together with the answers were published, without his consent, by one E. P., under the title of :—“The trying out of the truth,” 4^{to}, 190 pages.

Hanbury in his “Memorials”, page 288, takes Ephriam Pagitt for the publisher, but confounds him with John Paget, the minister of the Amsterdam Presbyterians. This controversy with John Ainsworth probably led Henry Ainsworth to compose a small writing against the Roman Catholic Church, entitled :—“An arrow against idolatry,” published in 1611.

Throughout all, Henry Ainsworth devoted his time to his favourite studies. In 1612 he made a metrical translation of the Psalms. From 1616 to 1619, he prepared for the press his annotations on the Pentateuch, compared with the Greek translation and the Chaldean paraphrase. Every year he published one quarto volume of nearly three hundred pages, and the last year two volumes. In 1623 he intended to add a commentary upon the song of Solomon and a treatise on predestination.

Death surprised him at his work, in 1622, at the age of fifty-two. After continued infirmity of body, he died of kidney-disorder.

William Bradford (“Dialogue by Young” p. 448) tells us :—“a very learned man he was and a close student, which much impaired his health.” In 1630, annotations

on his last sermon, from I Peter II 4, 5, were published by Sabin Keresmore.

Perhaps, because of his continual intercourse with rabbins and learned Jews, whom he often consulted for his Hebrew studies, it was rumored abroad he had been poisoned by the Jews. It is said that he once found on the street a valuable diamond, but when the owner came to him offering a large reward, he asked nothing else but the favor of a discourse with the most learned men of their nation on the prophecies respecting the Messiah. When either their men could not venture an opinion of their own or refute his clever arguments, the atrocious crime was then committed. This story is retold by Neal in his "Puritans", page 491 and proves once more what sort of artful fables a spirit of animosity towards the Jews can invent.

Happily, the slander was contradicted by the decisive testimony of a man like doctor Nicolaas Tulp,* who dissected the corpse of the deceased and who informs us how the death was occasioned in his "Observationes medica."

The death of Henry Ainsworth was an irretrievable loss to the Ainsworthians' church. The two elders, de l' Ecluse and May could not fill up the need of a pastor which lasted for years, before another teacher was appointed. It was still destitute of pastoral aid, when John Robinson, in a letter, dated September 1624, reproached it :—"our and all other churches advice you reject, in confidence of your own unerring judgment and proceeding in this matter. In vain we speak unto you whose ears prejudice hath stopped." A member had been excommunicated for his having attended the Presbyterian church, and when Leyden insisted on revision of the sentence, they persisted in the "non bis in idem" to the utmost.

* With the lineaments and work of this famous physician and surgeon we are familiar through the renowned painting of Rembrandt—*"The Anatomy Lesson."*—ED.

At last, after long disputes, John Canne entered upon the office of pastor. He was an exceptionally accomplished man, a bookseller who enriched his edition of the bible with references to corresponding passages. He afterwards, won renown through his writing against William Ames.

This learned scholar was born, about 1577,* either in England or Scotland, first Chaplain to Sir Horace Vere, next professor of Divinity at Franeker, and for a very short time, till his death, November 1, 1633, at a college of theology founded by some Englishmen at Rotterdam. The book is entitled:—"A necessitie of separation from the Church of England, specially opposed unto dr. Ames his Fresh suit," 1634, 4^{to}, 264 pages.

John Canne succeeded in restoring peace in the congregation. This he commemorated by an oration entitled:—"The way to peace or good counsel for it. Peracted upon the 15th day of the 2d month 1632 at the reconciliation of certain brethren, between whom there had been former differences."

Peace, however, did not endure very long. The elder Jean de l'Ecluse, being of the opinion that the congregation should be without any corruption or dark spot whatever, taught accordingly that the smallest blemish, the slightest corruption was a sufficient reason to separate from it. Paget in his "Heresiography" page 63, citing the complaint of one Mr. Simpson, especially of the prophets in Ainsworth Church, says: "our beloved Mr. de Cluse in his prophesie laboured to prove separation from a true church for any corruption, obstinately stood in this doctrine, was by another in prophecyng then shewed to be absolutely contrary to the passage Revelation II:24 how unsoundly

* In "John Robinson, the Pastor of the Pilgrim Fathers," by Waltler N. Burgess, London and New York, 1920, much is told of Ames (1576-1633) who died in Rotterdam, just before his expected voyage to America. The editor was told by Dutch professors of theology that the works of Dr. Ames (Amesius) translated into the language of the Netherlands, were still read and appreciated by pious peasants, especially in Friesland.—Er.

it was concluded by our teacher was then observed by many : also it was since by another delivered in the way of prophesie that even among ourselves did reigne many sinners, as namely fulnesse of bread, pride and idlenesse . . . if these things be so and be not redressed by the admonition of this prophesie, we must, according to Mr. de Cluse his doctrine, make a new separation."

John Canne's weak refutation of Jean de l'Ecluse's arguments led again to separation. According to Paget ("A defence of church government," 1641, page 32) one party sided with de l'Ecluse, the other with Canues. Less accurate is Underhill's statement ("Tracts," page 156 note) that de l'Ecluse had been the head of the congregation prior to John Canne's arrival.

The dispute was not settled until Canne repaired, about 1640, to England to join the Baptists, and de l'Ecluse probably had died. Had Mr. Eton, mentioned in the records of the Amsterdam English Reformed Church as being, January 17 and June 15, 1636, leader of a congregation, actually been a Brownist, it would prove that then already John Canne had left his congregation.

Anyway, the reconciliation proved to be sincere and durable. Still in 1645, Baillie, in his "Dissuasive," page 77, speaks of "an union so cordial as that of the two lately divided and now reunited churches." The reason of this may perhaps be in the fact that the Church was now left to itself. In 1645 Baillie tells us: "even yet they lived without an eldership." Chiefs were wanting.

Though the congregation was steadily decreasing in number and very much discredited, yet this small body of people had sufficient zeal and the necessary funds to rebuild the Church of the Barndesteeeg* (Lane), six years after it

* Little Street of the Burned, *i.e.*, of martyrs before the Reformation and near the Brownisten Gang, or Brownists' Alley often visited by Americans, under the impression that here the "Pilgrim Fathers" had their place of worship, yet the buildings at the entrance and at the rear end by the canal had no association with those who left Amsterdam for Leyden.—ED.

had been destroyed by fire. From their old place of worship (Groeneburgwal), they had removed long before.

For about forty years they still occupied the new building. Then, in 1701, when some five members only were left : an elder, a deacon and three ordinary members. These five sought communion with the English Reformed Church.* All, except one, owing to charges against his conduct, were admitted to that congregation, October 1701. According to the records of the Amsterdam English Reformed Church, their edifice became the property of the Dutch Reformed Congregation.

Today, the Bruinisten gang (Brownists' Alley) is the sole memorial to them in that part of the city of Amsterdam.

* The Scotch or English Reformed Church in the Begyn Hof. off from the Kalvar Straat, where in 1909 was unveiled the memorial bronze tablet erected by the Congregational Club of Chicago, and in which in the enlarged and modernized auditorium, one of three stained glass windows in honor of the Pilgrims was dedicated; Rev. B. Nightingale co-author of "New Light on the Pilgrim Story," preached the sermon on Idealism on a True Foundation, from Hebrews XI:14, the editor unveiling the unfinished window and making the dedicatory address.—ED.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE BAKEHOUSE OF JAN MUNTER

THUS vanished the original church of Henry Ainsworth and Francis Johnson, after a period of over a century. Long before this, the congregation which under John Smyth seceded from it in October 1608, had been dissolved.

Nevertheless John Smyth's principles survived and were still at work centuries after the fall of Brownism, the Baptists forming now the largest of Protestant denominations.

Unity and conformity reigned but a short time in that congregation after its separation from the Brownists. They were anxious to have a meeting-house at no great distance from the quarter where most of the members were living : Binnen-Amstel (Inner-Amstel), or Koningsgracht (King's Canal), as then called, between Muntsluis (Mint's Bridge) and Blauwebrug (Blue Bridge). Such a place they were, before long, so fortunate as to find.

The East India Company formed in 1595, 'or Company Van Verre, (to distant Lands), was prospering. As it fitted out many ships, it needed a large bakery, in order to provide these needed vessels with biscuit for their long voyages.

In the newest part or later enlargement of the town, comprised since about 1593 within municipal boundaries, the company erected its bakery on one of the many still vacant lots on the Amstel river.

The facade of this structure had three top or stepped gables, under each of which were two stories. There were thus three buildings adjoining each other and fronting on a large open space enclosed by a high wall.

Behind the building ran a street, now called Amstelstraat. Over the way, at the foot of the town's bulwark, stood a shed, probably designed to be used for a granary. The

peculiar appearance of the structure arises from the sixteen chimneys, in the form of towers, to be seen at either side of the central roof and the double rows of fourteen windows in the exterior side-walls. It is thus represented in the extremely rare map of Amsterdam by Petrus Bastius, published and dated October 1, 1599. (See Frontispiece).

The East-India Company occupied this building but a few years. In 1603 it was rented out as the City Arsenal and then, perhaps, the bakery was removed thither. At least a couple of years after, houses were built around it and from this, the neighboring Bakhuisstraat (Bakehouse-street) now Bakkerstraat (Baker's street) was named, and the property came into the hands of Jan Munter. It was seldom after that time called the East-Indian bakehouse, but, as a rule, plainly "the bakehouse, or "the bakehouse of Munter." So it is generally termed in the records of the Consistory of the Amsterdam Mennonite Congregation.*

It appears that Jan Munter, by altering the interior of the houses, added several lodgings to those formerly occupied by the baker's men. The front part, skirting the Amstel, (now the houses numbered 122 and 124,) he did not buy, or he sold again, but a large space in the rear, entered by a small square, now a repository of grain and seed, once a stable for horses, still continued his property.

The letters of acquirement of that time, for No. 122, I could not find, but the present owner kindly permitted me to examine his title-deeds, which show that the hinder part, or the so-called bakehouse was still, January 31, 1639, in

* Mr. H. M. Dexter, who got from me his first information of the existence of the bakehouse, rightly called it: "the bakehouse of the East India Company;" but, misled by a misprint in B. Evans "Early English Baptists," I, page 220, thought that it was afterwards styled: "the cake-house of John Munter." ("Congregationalism", page 338 note 174.) Had he been acquainted with my transcripts from the Burial Books of the New Church at Amsterdam, placed at the disposal of Robert Barclay (see his "Religious Societies of the Commonwealth," page 95) he would not have fallen into this error.

the hands of the heirs of Jan Munter; that in 1627 his house came into possession of Cornelis Wybrands and afterwards frequently changed hands, until it was bought with the adjacent No. 124, this time the rear buildings included, by John Jordan, usually called Jan Jurriaans, the Englishman.

The latter, in 1755, converted the two houses into warehouses which were still named the Englishman's warehouses. John Jordan lived next-door, to the east-side, in a strong, well-built house, now No. 126. He was also owner of the houses and sites on which now still stands the Scotch Zendings Kerk (Mission-Church), and erected between Doelen-Bridge and Mint-Bridge, formerly the Schapenplein (Sheep-square) five houses, since called the English houses, the last wall of which houses was pulled down October 15, 1877.

As John Smyth and a great many of his party were living in the houses surrounding the former bakehouse, he very soon fixed his eye upon that large space for a place of worship. The negotiation was successful and before long the new congregation met there.

CHAPTER XIX

JOHN SMYTH'S REPENTANCE AND REQUEST TO JOIN THE MENONNITES

THE successful negotiation for a house of meeting had still other results.

Jan Munter, progenitor of a line of burgomasters, was born in 1570 and married, 1596, Saartje van Tongerloo, born 1578. Both he and his wife were members of the United Waterlander and High German Mennonite Churches, which, in 1605, erected a new building at the Singel between Bergstraat (Hill Street) and Torenslnis (Tower-bridge) in Amsterdam.

This congregation had a most excellent pastor, named Lubbert Gerrits, and was most closely allied to Hans de Ries, pastor of its fellow-believers at Alkmaar. This congregation was, to its great advantage distinguished from the other Amsterdam Mennonite Congregations; the surly Frisians and the rigid Flemish, by great toleration, love of peace, abstinence from all exaggeration in matters of church discipline, and by views on the doctrines of original sin and predestination, coinciding with John Smyth's own opinions.

Upon closer acquaintance, he found Jan Munter quite different from the other Mennonites, Frisians or Flemish, whom he might have met formerly. How glad and willing he was to join the circle of friends, to which Jan Munter introduced him!

But not gladness and willingness on his part only. True, John Smyth then still held the opinion, the so-called "successio apostolica" to be a chimera, and that two or three private persons, assembled in the name of the Lord, may gather a new church, nay, even may administer the sacraments, always provided there be no true church for them to join with a good conscience.

On that ground he had once performed baptism on himself and his followers. But now having become acquainted with a community of believers whom he must admit to be a Church of Christ he repented of his rashness and want of consideration which he condemned as constituting confusion and disorder. In his "Retraction of Errors" he says :— "it is not the truth that two or three private persons may baptize, when there is a true church and ministers established, whence baptism may orderly be had, for if Christ himself did fetch his baptism from John and the Gentiles from the Jews baptized, and if God be the God of order and not of Confusion, then surely we must observe this order now, or else disorder is order and God alloweth disorder."

I infer from a letter, dated March 12, 1609, that John Smyth and his friends repented of their baptism, and for that reason had been expelled from their church by the writers of that letter, and that John Smyth confessed his error, in January or February 1609, as it usually took some weeks before a sentence of excommunication was pronounced.

Intemperately zealous, as was John Smyth under stress of conviction, he was ready to confess his error, were it ever so humbling to him, and this he did openly before his congregation. Then he tried to persuade his party to repair that fault as much as possible, by seeking communion with the United Mennonite Church.

It was therefore, required for these, first to manifest repentence of their improper baptism and next to draw up a short confession of faith, in order to justify their request to be admitted as members of that congregation.

John Smyth did both. He arranged a list headed :— "Nomina Anglorum qui hunc errorem suum agnoscent eiusque poenitentiam agunt vid. Quod incooperint seipsos baptizare contra ordinem a Christo Constitutum quique iam cupiunt huic verae Christi Ecclesiae uniri ea qua fieri possit expeditione."

This was undersigned by himself and fourteen other men and seventeen women. The names of the men are: Hugh Bromhead, Jarvase Nevill, Thomas Canadyne, Edward Hankin, John Hardy, Thomas Pygott, Francis Pygott, Robert Stanley, Alexander Fleming, Alexander Hodgkins, John Grindall, Solomon Thomson, Samuel Halton and Thomas Dolphin. The names of the women are: Ann Bromhead, Jane Southworth, Mary Smyth, Joane Halton, Alis Arnfield, Isabell Thomson, Margaret Stanly, Mary Grindall, Mother Pygott, Alis Pygott, Margaret Pygott, Betteis Dickinson, Mary Dickinson, Ellyn Paynter, Alis Parsons, Joane Briggs, Jane Argan.

John Smyth added to this list a confession of faith, of twenty short articles in Latin. (See Appendix D).

The originals of the list and Confession of Faith, in Smyth's own handwriting, are preserved in the archives of the Amsterdam Mennonite Church.

The Confession of Faith in the articles concerning the Trinity, the Godhead and manhood of Christ, Resurrection and Judgment day does not disagree with the common Protestant view. It contains only a very few dogmatic formulas, and is rather incomplete as to some doctrines, *e.g.* that of reconciliation.

Not all members of John Smyth's Church offered themselves to the fellowship of the Mennonites. Far from it. Nearly ten of them were seriously opposed to it. "Not above ten persons," is noted down* on the margin of Clyfton's answer to Mr. Smyth's epistle to the reader in his "Plea for infants." Among these ten were Thomas Helwys, William Pygott, Thomas Seamer and John Murton. They had no objection to the Mennonites. They regarded

* H. M. Dexter overlooked this and unjustly thinks that Helwys' followers formed the majority, in consequence of which he falls into another error, that Smyth's congregation originally, before the separation, numbered from seventy-five to one hundred members. See "Congregationalism," page 313, note 83 and page 321).

these as very dear and beloved brethren in the faith. They were even inclined to enter into close relations with them.

But for all the world, they would not acknowledge that they had erred in the mode of baptism which they had practised. To do so would be to disown the lawfulness of their Church's existence. Helwys did not allow of Smyth's exception, that such a practise was only lawful if there be no true church. In fact, he considered it as always permitted, nay, according to one's duty. He called John Smyth's acknowledgement a sin against the Holy Ghost. Smyth, indeed, opposed God's truth, not from ignorance, but from intention, after having formerly known and professed that truth.

To be true to their views on church discipline, Helwys and his friends saw themselves compelled to expel Smyth and all his followers. It hung heavy on their hands, heavier than any one can conceive. Two years after, in the preface of his books "A declaration of the faith of English people," Helwys signed and wrote : "What would we not have borne or done, how willingly had we given up all we have, nay more, dug out our eyes, sacrificed our lives, if we might have continued with a good conscience to profit by his teachings ! God knows it ! Do not men know it too ? Does he himself not know it ? Have we not disregarded ourselves, our wives and children, and all what is ours, in order to honor him ? We own to have had all reasons for doing so, because of the excellent gifts God of his grace has so overflowingly given him. All our love was still too poor and unworthy of him. Let, therefore, every one and himself not think otherwise than that the loss of such a man we most sadly have taken and still do take to heart. But he has denied the Lord's truth, he is fallen from grace, and, though the fowler laid the snares, the knot was broken, and we are liberated. God be praised and thanked !"

Indeed, according to their opinion, truth had been so denied, that they might not shrink even from proceeding to the very extreme.

Besides, they considered it their duty to address a fraternal warning to the Mennonites, as soon as they learned that John Smyth, for himself and his company, had requested to be admitted into fellowship. This remarkable letter, preserved in the archives of the Mennonites Church, and which has not hitherto appeared, will be found in the Appendix E.

This warning led to further negotiations between the Mennonite Consistory and Thomas Helwys and his party. To begin with, the Consistory asked them for a short account of their Confession of Faith, so as to learn their points of difference with Smyth's followers, and their reason for excommunicating those. In concert with this desire, a "Synopsis fidëi" was drawn up, containing nineteen articles. It was written in the same hand as that of the fraternal warning.*

This, I hold, called forth Helwy's Confession of Faith. Of course, Helwys and his company did not, like John Smyth, seek a union with the Mennonites, and, consequently, the dissolution of their own congregation. On the contrary, they worked to maintain strictly their independency, though acknowledging the Mennonites as their fellow believers, as a sister-church.

Except some very remarkable deviations, there is a great conformity between this and Smyth's aforesaid Confession. The sequence of the articles and even some expressions are nearly identical. No doubt the composer of the one confession had the other before him, and followed it. John Smyth excelled in the usage of Latin; Helwys in Biblical language and in avoiding the excessive use of scholastic terms. Helwys' aversion to these is shown by his "Short

*Reprinted in Appendix F.

and plaine proofe, 1611," page 138, where he reproaches John Robinson with his "logic and philosophy, as being none of the gifts, where with Christ endued his apostles," and with his "terms of art," in reply to which Robinson (Works, III page 181) says: "they are neither many nor without cause, nor yet so dark, but an ordinary reader may, as they are explained by me, understand them."

On account of Helwy's relations with the Baptists of a later period, his confession of faith should be regarded as the earliest Baptist confession. I have therefore, thought it of sufficient importance to reprint (see Appendix F.) the original from the archives of the Amsterdam Mennonite congregation, the more so as it has not hitherto been published.

The apparently slight deviations between both confessions are not without signification. They all relate to what John Smyth either acknowledged or passed over in silence, because of his strong tendency to a fusion with the Mennonites. For instance, he does not speak of a strict observing of the Sabbath, nor of a weekly celebration of the Holy Communion on every Sunday. He concedes their view on justification and conforms himself to their custom to speak of the incarnation, or rather of the origin of Christ's flesh, in somewhat vague language. It is known that Melchior Hoffman, and Menno Simons afterwards, advocated the ancient opinion, that at the incarnation God's Son took not his flesh from his mother, but owed his body to a special act of God's creating: "quieum creavit in utero Mariae."

The Frisians and Flemish Mennonites had occupied this point of view for a long time.

But it is known, too, that in 1555, the High German and Waterlander Mennonites, at a gathering of brethren and elders at Strasburg, agreed to consider this dogma as not important (adiaphorous), and declared that all were at liberty to think of it as they pleased. Most of them did

not touch upon the subject, and whenever it was discussed, they used very vague words. John Smyth now followed this course.

Helwys opposed this ambiguity intentionally. In his book, "An animadvertisement or admonition, 1611," the first two refutations are:—"that Christ took his flesh of Maria, having a true earthlie, naturall bodie; that a Sabbath or day of rest is to be kept holy everie first day of the weeke."

To this John Smyth in his "Retraction of errors," page VI replies:—"Another imputation of Mr. Helwys is concerning the flesh of Christ. Whereto I say, that he that knoweth not that the first and second flesh of an infant in the mother's womb are to be distinguished, knowth not yet the grounds of nature and natural reason. I affirmed concerning Christ that his second flesh, that is his nourishment, he had from his mother and that the Scriptures are plain for it, but concerning the first matter of Christ's flesh, whence it was, I said thus much: that although I yield it to be a truth in nature, that he had it of his mother Mary, yet I dare not make it such an article of faith as that if any man will not consent unto it, I should therefore refuse brotherhood with him, and that the Scriptures do not lead us (as far as I conceive) to the searching of that point, where of Christ's natural flesh was made; but that we should search into Christ's spiritual flesh, to be made flesh of that his flesh, and bone of his bone, in the communion and fellowship of the same spirit."

Helwys, no doubt, also purposely called the weekly celebration of the Holy Communion a remnant of Brownism, which Smyth did not incorporate in his confession, because the Mennonites were not pleased with it.

It should not be wondered at that the Mennonite Consistory, after having been informed of these comparatively slight differences of opinion, still always cherished hopes

that Helwys would before long consider these matters of dispute as adiaphorous for which he himself claimed "Christiana libertas." They trusted also that the difficulties between him and John Smyth once being removed, their reconciliation might lead to a cordial union and fusion with the Mennonite Church.

Helwys, William Pigott, Seamer and Murton now were invited to a discourse. In a postscript to a letter, preserved in the Archives of the Mennonite congregation and dated March 12, 1609—not 1610 as Evans, Early Baptists, I, page 210 misstates—these four wrote:—"We have bene much greeved, since our last conference with you, because wee dishonored the truth of God, much for want of speach in that we were not able to utter that poore measure of knowledg, which God of his grace hath given us."

After all, at that consultation, the true reason of their division was sufficiently revealed. Should there still have been some question about it, the letter of Helwys, and the rest, dissipated every doubt. The cause of which being: their controversy respecting the lawfulness of their congregation's existence; their mode of commencing baptism; and the ordination of their elders. John Smyth in changing his previous view had denied all, while Helwys defended all strenuously.

Sharply and bitterly these four expressed themselves in their letter about their opponents, who—they say—"are justlie for their sinnes cast from us, and should be looked upon as heathen and publicans;" and after their warning not to company with them:—"if you shall publish or practice unie thinge against this ground in the 18 of Matthew."

From that letter, too, appears their constant ties of cordial brotherhood with the Mennonites. As a sample take the following lines:—"Your approved care, diligence and faithfulness in the advancement of Gods holie truth,

being by good experience (to God be given all glorie) well knowne unto us." — " You will take wise councell and that from Gods word, how you deale in this cause betwixt us and these." — " According to the great love and kindnes, that you have shewed unto us," etc.

Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that the Mennonite Consistory did not forthwith accede to the demand of John Smyth and his companions, but put off the decision for some months. Perhaps Helwys might meanwhile repeal the excommunication, and thus cause a reconciliation, which for the moment was impossible.

John Smyth's followers reiterated their desire to unite with the Mennonite Church, and insisted on it the more so as knowing that the teachers or elders Lubbert Gerrits and Hans de Ries were inclined to consent. In a letter to the elders and teachers of sister-congregations they had praised these as wise men, who distinguished themselves by their godly walks."

From a note by Claas Claaszoon Anslo on the death of Lubbert Gerrits, dated January 1612, which manuscript-document is preserved in the archives of the Mennonite congregation, it appears that on his death-bed Lubbert Gerrits, still seriously desired not to forget the affair with the English, but to settle it as soon as possible. He further declared that he had some objections to the baptism of Mr. Smyth, as not being warranted by Scriptures, but that the other English, without being baptized again, should be accepted."

Hans de Ries writes in a letter—the Ms. is in aforesaid archives—to Reinier Wybrands :—" I will thank God and hope to hear the English affair to have ended well." Before finishing the letter, he exhorts them again :—" Dear men, pray do require that the English affair be brought to a close."

Now the concise form and incompleteness of the articles

of faith, delivered by the English, were points of objection to their union. On account of this, they requested Hans de Ries to draw up a confession for them ; which he readily did. This confession contained at first thirty-eight articles, to which Hans de Ries added afterwards two more, the nineteenth and twenty-second, thus forty articles altogether. In the preface to the edition of 1610 (?) he says :—“This short confession of faith, I first wrote on entreaty and on behalf of several Englishmen fled from England for conscience' sake, I have afterwards somewhat augmented.”

This confession, termed later on, the confession of Hans de Ries and Lubbert Gerrits, never had any binding authority with the Mennonites, though it was approved by many of them. It was translated into English, after having been signed, without any reserve, by the thirty-one of John Smyth's above-mentioned list, besides ten more : three men and seven women. (See Appendix G.)

At the end of 1609 the negotiations had so far progressed that the Mennonite Consistory thought they could not with a good conscience, shut their ears any longer to the English, but must present the affair to the whole brotherhood. The brotherhood then desired that the English should, first of all, again be most perfectly examined, as regards the doctrine of salvation and the government of their church, and also be interrogated as to the foundation and form of their baptism.

The Consistory did not find any difference, either in the one or the other thing between the English and the Mennonites, and said that, according to their opinion, the English, without being baptized again, must be admitted, as their baptism is valid and lawful. A few weeks afterwards the Consistory put the question to the vote among the brethren. It then appeared that most of them were of the same opinion as the Consistory. The latter, however, thought it advisable to consult the neighbouring fellow-

servants, *i. e.*: the elders and teachers of the surrounding United Waterland and High German Churches on this matter before taking action.

By an epistle, dated May 6, 1610--date stated in the reply of Dirk Pietinz, of Hoorn--the Consistory convened in Amsterdam, May 23, to hold converse with the Englishmen, and at the same time to instruct and bring the Amsterdam brethren into the right way, if they were of a different opinion. For the sake of the Englishmen, the Latin language was to be used in the conference, as appears from the reply of Willem Janszoon, teacher at Rynsburg. They further prayed to notice most particularly, that they only mean the baptism of those who are baptized by their minister himself, for we ourselves do distinguish the act of baptizing by which he has baptized himself; this is an affair quite different.

These particulars as here stated were derived from a manuscript of the Consistory's circular in the archives of the Amsterdam Mennonite congregation.

Only four replies to that circular are extant, three of which are unpropitious. Five teachers of Friesland declared, May 15, that they were not inclined to come, or to give advice without consulting their congregations, so long as they had no knowledge of the Englishmen's confession. Dirk Pietinz of Hoorn exhorts, May 21, to great prudence, as the admission of the English might easily lead to separation and to others leaving them. Willem Jansz of Rynsburg was the only one who, May 18, answered in the affirmative. His letter enclosed one of Yeme de Rynck, teacher at Harlingen, one of the subscribers to the Frisian epistle, saying that he regretted his fellow elders had refused to come, but that he still entertained hopes that all would end well. The Amsterdam Consistory complied at once with the desire of the Frisians and sent the confession of thirty-eight articles, since published in print, but not yet

supplemented by the two additional articles. The Frisian reply informs us :—“as regards the request for our advice and examination which you desire about the thirty-eight articles of creed presented to us, this is all in vain,” etc.

The Frisian brethren kept silent at first and when, in a letter of the 16th of July, an answer was required from them within a fortnight, they, July 28, bitterly disapproved this rashness, desired that all the Mennonite churches in Germany and at the East-sea should also be acquainted with it, referred to controversies among themselves, declared they had not yet had time to read the confession, and said of the Englishmen :—“this people with their absurd labour and service,” and of their baptism :—“an affair never heard of, therefore we will leave it as it is and we shall behave ourselves according to the instruction given us in the word of God.”

In this situation of things the Amsterdam Consistory however anxious to accept the Englishmen as members preferred to defer it still a little longer. Whether this delay,—the desire having already been expressed one year and a half previously, led the English at last to withdraw themselves; or, if it was in consequence of the refusal to admit their venerated teacher John Smyth, whose baptism the Consistory did not regard as valid, though not objecting to that of the other ones; we do not know.

It is shown, however, that John Smyth and thirteen others obliterated their signatures on the confession and that during the first years no union was concluded. Yet the friendly relations with the Mennonites continued. Smyth even defended Hans de Ries and Lubbert Gerrits when these, after having added two articles to the confession and republished it, were attacked on the side of the Reformed. The manuscript of this copious defence, written in Latin and with a Dutch translation by the Mennonite

pastor Reinier Wybrands, is still preserved in the Archives of the Amsterdam Mennonite Church.

Smyth's approval of the inserted article XIX which the opponents called "Schwenckfeldian,"* is shown by his "Retraction of Errors", page VII :— "another imputation is of some moment, that I should affirm Christ in the flesh to be a figure of himself in the spirit, and that men are not so much to strive about the natural flesh of Christ as about his spiritual flesh, and that the contention concerning the natural flesh of Christ is like the contention of the soldiers for Christ's coat. . . It is the spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing."

* The works of Schwenckfeld were translated into English by the late Rev. Dr. Chester D. Hartranft and published. The Schwenckfelders have their schools at Pennsburg, and their churches and chief congregations in Montgomery County in Pennsylvania.—ED.

CHAPTER XX

JOHN SMYTH'S PARTING WORD

JOHN SMYTH now carefully avoided all controversy, except the short reply he published in 1610 to Clyfton's book. It is entitled : " A reply to Mr. R. Clyfton's Christian plea." Otherwise, there had been every reason for John Smyth to do so. No fewer than five pamphlets were written against him : Henry Ainsworth, a defence of the Holy Scriptures, Worship and Ministry used in the Christian churches separated from Antichrist, 1609 ; R. Clyfton, A plea for infants and elder people concerning their baptism, or a processe of the passages between Mr. John Smyth and Richard Clyfton, Amsterdam, 1610, 4^{to}, pp. 226 ; Francis Johnson, A brief treatise containing some grounds and reasons against two errors of the Anabaptists, 1609 or 1610 ; R. Bernard, Plaine Evidences : the Church of England is apostolical ; the separation schismaticall, directed against Mr. Ainsworth the Separtist and Mr. Smyth the Se-baptist, 1610 ; J. H., A Description of the Church of Christ against certaine Anabaptisticall and erronious opinions maintained and practised by one Master John Smyth, 1610.

But John Smyth supported this all and imposed Silence upon himself.

A couple of years before his death, Smyth, in a parting word, published posthumously wrote, "if any man say, why then do you not answer the books, written in opposition ? My answer is, my desire is to end all controversies among Christians rather than to make and maintain them, especially in matters of the outward church and ceremonies ; and it is the grief of my heart that I have so long cumbered myself and spent my time therein, and I profess that difference in judgment for matter of circumstance, as are all things of the outward Church, shall not cause me to refuse

the brotherhood of any penitent and faithful Christian whatsoever. And now from this day forward do I put an end to all controversies and questions about the outward church and ceremonies with all men, and resolve to spend my time in the main matters wherein consisteth salvation. Without repentence, faith, remission of sin, and the new creature, there is no salvation, but there is salvation without the truth of all outward ceremonies of the outward church. If any man say you answer not because you cannot, I say to him, that I am accounted one that cannot answer is not my fame, but to spend my time in a full answer of these things of the outward church which I am bound to employ better (necessity calling upon me) would be my sin, and so I had rather be accounted unable to answer, than to be bound in sin against my conscience. Again, if I should answer, it would breed further strife among Christians."

Yet one attack put his meekness to a rather too severe test. It was from the first person he baptized, his old friend Thomas Helwys, who, not yet satisfied with having excommunicated John Smyth, issued, two years after, in 1611, a writing mingled with gall and bitterness, which he addressed to Hans de Ries, Renier Wybrands and their congregations. We here quote only page 35 :—“ Mr. John Smyth is fallen, denying the words of our Saviour, Matthew XVII:20. And this man, like Balaam, hath consulted with you and hath put a stumblingblock before the people of God who were also enlightened ; and so are many, as you know, fallen with him to the same sin and under the same condemnation.”

That was going too far. John Smyth could not keep silence any longer. But how different was his manner of writing from his former censorious course ! He says : “ In the days of my blind zeal and preposterous imitation of Christ I was somewhat lavish in censuring and judging others, and namely in the way of separation, called Brownism.

Generally, all those biting and bitter words, phrases and speeches, used against the professors of the land, I utterly retract and revoke, as not being of the spirit of Christ, but of the disciples, who would have called for fire and brimstone from heaven, which Christ rebuketh. The contention hath broken the rules of love and charity, which is the superior law. For my part, the Lord hath taught me, for hereafter shall I set a watch before my mouth, that I sin not again in that kind and degree The Articles of Religion which are the ground of my Salvation are these, wherein I differ from no good Christian : That Jesus Christ, the son of God and the son of Mary, is the anointed King, Priest and Prophet of the Church, the only mediator of the new Testament, and that through true repentance and faith in Him, who alone is our Saviour, we receive remission of sins and the Holy Ghost in this life, and therewith all the redemption of our bodies, and everlasting life in the resurrection of the body ; and whosoever walketh according to this rule, I must needs acknowledge him my brother ; yea, although he differ from me in divers other particulars."

It is true, that he still strenuously defended his opinion against that of Helwys ; and, indeed, refutes all imputations cast upon him by the latter ; but, when remembering the cause of their estrangement ; the lawfulness to form a church and to baptize, he exclaims :—“ In these outward matters, I dare not any more contend with any man, but desire that we may follow the truth of repentance, faith and regeneration, and lay aside dissension for mint, comine and anis seed.”

In this manner, John Smyth wrote during the last seven weeks of his life, while he felt his strength daily decreasing and death approaching.

Bradford (“Dialogue by Young.” page 451) tells us : “ Mr. Smyth lived not many years after, but died there of a consumption, to which he was inclined, before he came out of England.”

Two days before his death, John Smyth answered to one asking him a question, which tended to strife :—“I desire to hear no contention now.”

Not only in this respect ; not only in his gentleness, but also in his discourses with his wife and children, in his exhortations to the members of his church who visited him, and especially by his most perfect trust in God, to whom he devoted himself with all his heart, and whose name he still praised in the hour of death,—his dying was for his congregation a more edifying, sanctifying and certainly more touching preaching of the Gospel, than in the course of his life he had ever set forth.

In “Life and death of John Smyth” we read :—“It pleased the Lord at the length to visit him with sickness and with a disease whereby he perceived, that his life should not long continue, yet remaining about seven weeks, during the which space he behaved himself Christianlike, examining his life, confessing his sins, praying for patience, having always confidence in the mercy and favour of the Lord toward him in the end.”

CHAPTER XXI

FUSION WITH THE MENNONITES

THE burial registers state that John Smyth's body was interred on the 1st of September 1612, in the New Church at Amsterdam. His congregation kept faithfully together.

Joseph Ivimey, who as customary, copies Crosby, misstates in his "History of the English Baptists," vol. II page 505 :— "on the death of Mr. Smyth the care of the church was committed to Mr. Helwisse and soon after they returned to London, from an idea that they had done wrong to fly from persecution."

Thomas Pigott was now the next pastor, who did homage to John Smyth's memory by publishing his last work : "Retraction of errors and confirmation of the truth," to which he added a preface, a short memoir and a confession of faith of John Smyth. The confession is entitled :—"Propositions and conclusions concerning true christian religion, containing a confession of faith of certain English people, living at Amsterdam," sometimes simply termed "confession of the remainder of Mr. Smyth's Company."

Thomas Crosby ("The History of the English Baptists," page 271) confounds this confession with that of Helwys, entitled : "A declaration of the faith of English people remaining at Amsterdam in Holland," which led to the errors of many subsequent authors; 29, Underhill ("Tracts," 179 note), Hanbury ("Memorials," page 179), etc. Even Robert Barclay ("The Inner-life of the Religious Societies," page 96 note) misstates that the church which published John Smyth's confession, was another one than that which united with the Mennonites.

This confession does not, as to the main points, differ from that which Smyth delivered when applying for union

with the Mennonites, and accordingly does agree with the confession of Hans de Ries and Lubbert Gerrits, which he had undersigned. It is particularly characteristic, because of its sharp expressions of the doctrine of predestination : (article XXV and XXVI) "That God before the foundation of the world hath determined the way of life and salvation to consist in Christ and that he hath foreseen who would follow it ; on the contrary he hath determined the way of perdition to consist in impenitency and infidelity, and that he hath also foreseen, who would follow after it. That as no man begotteth his child to the gallows, nor no potter maketh a pot to break it, so God doth not create and predestinate any man to destruction."*

Not only in that respect, did Thomas Pigott and his company vindicate John Smyth's memory. They, too, maintained very friendly relations with the Mennonites. They did not reply to Helwys' imputations in his "*Mistery of Iniquity*," and they silenced Robinson's harsh, sometimes bitter refutations. Ridiculing their venerated John Smyth, Robinson in his book "*of religious communion private and public—as also a survey of the confession of faith, published in certain conclusions by the remainders of Mr. Smyth's company, 1614,*" breaks out :—"but lo ! here another mischief ; the persuasion of perfection in holiness, which these men would also have us think Mr. Smyth had attained, a little before his death. And it made well for the credit of the doctrine, that he did not survive : for then the imperfections of his life would have discovered the error of the doctrine. Yea, verily, if this were his faith here published, it is too evident how far he was from perfection."

In no long time their friendship with the Mennonites led them to make another application for fellowship with that community. The only objection to this on the part of the

* An English translation from the Dutch text preserved in the Archives of the Amsterdam Mennonite Church, see Appendix H.

Mennonites, was that Smyth's se-baptism, had been neutralized by his death. Indeed, the request of the English was this time, November 6, 1614, readily submitted to by the Mennonite Consistory. On the following Sunday, November 9, it was brought before the brethren, "so that any one, having serious reasons to oppose against it, might communicate, within three weeks, to the servants his objections to it."

No one then made objection, nor again, when the Consistory, January 18, 1615, called them up again, announcing at the same time that, unless there were hindrance, the union would be consummated Wednesday the 21st, on the occasion of the baptism by Hans de Ries of some new members.

In the Memorial, or records of the proceedings of the church, marked A, and in those of its servants, of the year 1612, marked B, both written by Reinier Wybrands, an eye-witness and teacher of the United Mennonite Church at Amsterdam, we read: "On the 20th of January, of the year 1615, the English of the bake-house, both men and women, about 30 persons were convened by us servants in our spycker,* and having come, asked: 1st if they still persisted in their intention to unite with our congregation? they answered yes. 2nd, if in the tenets and confession of faith, which they had signed in their own handwriting, all of them were still one in sentiment with us? whereupon they declared such to be the case, except a few, about 4, who did not agree in some points, but were of a different opinion, principally respecting magistry and taking an oath, which both points were mentioned, but would, with the others, behave themselves peaceably and make no opposition. It was proposed by us: to admit all those who were the same with us and to reject the others, till they had changed their minds and could agree with us. They then

* Name of their meeting-house.

deliberated amongst themselves and answered, that they could not separate from each other, and either to be admitted all of them, or rejected," as their brethren, though somewhat differing from them, tolerated them from love. Then we consulted together on it, and returned for answer, that we propose, as before, to admit all those who agree with us in the points of the tenet, but that to admit them all, who agree, and who disagree with us, we scrupple to do and dare not do, but will consult our brethren, and inform them of it, as we have nothing told our brethren, but that all of them agreed with us in the tenets, as they had signed the confession of faith in their own handwriting. And thereupon, to the regret of many of them, we took leave that night. Next day, being the 21st of January, they came to us, early in the morning, to say that, after having, during the night, discussed the matter among them all, it was agreed that those, who were found to be one in sentiment with us, should proceed to join our community, as they got to know that the others would not grieve themselves at it, but adviced to the union, for which they had been a hindrance. Such was accordingly done, after the baptism of those who were to be baptized, and they were, without baptism, in public assembly, admitted to our fellowship. May God retain them therein to their salvation ! Amen."

Even after this fusion, the English continued their distinct worship in the "Bakehouse," where the preaching was in English, and which, after Jan Munter's death, his widow let to them. Still June 8, 1620, their teacher was Thomas Pigott—and not Thomas Denys, as Evans ("Early Baptists," II, page 25 note) supposes—[assisted by] Reinier Wybrands and his co-elder Pieter Andriesz. Herseling ordained to the full service, that is, admitted to administer baptism and the Lord's Supper. Formerly Pigott used only to preach.

Down to 1637, instances occur of baptisms administered in their place of worship. Accordingly, the congregation had in some respects a distinct existence, though being closely connected with the Mennonites. The baptized and newly received persons were at once looked upon as members of the head church, which church distributed the alms, disciplined offenders, and even kept the meeting house in repair. In the Administration Books of the Amsterdam Mennonite Church is entered, September 26, 1619 : "By Wages for the Bake-house."

Yet when Thomas Pigott had died in 1639* the Consistory found it unnecessary to have a distinct place of meeting any longer, and resolved on abolishing the preaching in the English tongue. The English and their children now understood the Dutch language sufficiently to attend to the Church of the Mennonites. In the course of the last three years, eight of English origin had applied for baptism to the Dutch teachers against one to Pigott. Consequently, the English section ceased.

Nevertheless, the Consistory had, July 8, 1640, appointed a teacher one of its most eminent members, dr. Joseph Drewe, perhaps a son of John Drewe, who, together with Thomas Jessop and Thomas Helwys' wife, had been prosecuted in England before the Court of a Brownist, July 26, 1607, and whose daughter, Febe was baptized, 1639, here in Amsterdam. But Joseph Drewe "feared his speech, that is, his language, will be an impediment, as he was used to the English."

The dwellings surrounding the place of meeting continued

* Probably, as according to any Account-Book of the Amsterdam Mennonite Church, Sara van Tongerloo, Jan Muuter's widow, redeemed in 1639 the mortgage, for which the Bakehouse was pledged as security for a still unpaid legacy of four thousand Dutch guilders, bequeathed by Jan Munter to the Amsterdam Mennonite Church, by a four per-cent obligation on the part of Thomas Pigott, and, August 16 of the same year, Pigott's wife, Aaltje (alice) was termed : widow, in a deed of transfer of a house of which she was a joint-proprietor.

to be occupied by the Pigotts, the Armfields, the Drewes, the Dragons, the Hodgkins, but came, the one after the other, eleven houses containing twenty-three dwellings, still always called the “Bakehouse”—into the possession of the Mennonite Church, till they were at last sold in 1709 for 6020 guilders, 15 strivers, 4 penningen, Dutch currency, equal to fully £500.

These buildings are still always to be found in one of the most curious and narrow alleys of Amsterdam, partly vaulted, and winding with five acute angles along and across the space, above referred to, between Rembrandts-square and Paarden-street. This alley is, after former inhabitants, rightly called the English alley.

Half a century ago, the popular local tradition still persisted—what all writers who described Amsterdam, had long before forgotten, viz.: that an English Church formerly existed there. It had been the meeting-place of the mother church of the Baptists, and not of the Quakers, as the Dutch writer on Amsterdam, J. ter Gouw, misstates.

CHAPTER XXII

THOMAS HELWYS AND HIS NINE ADHERENTS

MEANWHILE what had become of Thomas Helwys and his nine adherents?

They had never revoked the excommunication of John Smyth and his company. Consequently they were shut out of their former place of meeting, the "Bakehouse," which remained the property of the majority, their opponents.

From March 1609, until some time in 1611, or about two years and a half, they assembled and partook of the Lord's Supper every Sunday, probably in the house of one of their members. Thomas Helwys occupied a prominent position among them. He also showed himself an author. First, I suppose, by an Advertisement and Admonition to the Mennonite congregation; next, by a confession of faith; and then, by a short and clear proof from God's Word, that God's decree is not the cause of sin and condemnation.

The said Advertisement dated July 2, 1611, containing 94 16 mo. pages, was originally written in Dutch for the congregations of Hans de Ries and Reinier Wybrands, but published in English. Its full title runs:—"An advertisement or admonitions unto the congregations which men call the New Fryelers (Freewillers?) in the Low Countries. Written in Dutch and published in English. Wherein is handled four Principal Points of Religion, etc. After these followes certain Demandes concerning God's Decree of Salvation and Condemnation. Prov. IX:8, XXIX:1. Printed 1611."

The book is dedicated to "Hans de Ries, Reynier Wybrantsen and the congregations whereof thy are." This dedication is signed: Thomas Helwys.

He tries to argue therein his view of his four points of difference with the Mennonites. The sub-divisions are headed:

I. that Christ took his flesh of Marie, having a true earthlie, naturall bodie.

II. that a Sabbath or day of rest is to be kept holy everie first day of the weeke.

III. That ther is no succession or privilege to persons in the holie things.

IV. that magistracie, being an holy ordinance of God, debarreth not any from being of the Church of Christ.

This last assertion concerning magistracy is repeated verbatim, in article 24 of the new edition of his book.” A declaration of the faith of English people remaining at Amsterdam,” which was probably added to aforesaid writing. It now contained twenty-seven articles and had some notable omissions, augmentations and alterations. The earliest version of this confession is printed in Appendix F.

Instead of the positive denial of original sin, Article IV of the new edition declares that: “men are by nature the children of wrath, born in iniquitie and in sin conceived, wise to all evil, but to good they have no knowledge.”

Freedom of will, atonement for the sins of all mankind, that the saints might fall from grace, all this was, however, maintained.

Article XVII, concerning church discipline, wherein the previous customary admonition of the congregation is mentioned, has the notable addition: —“and therefore not the committing of sin doth cut off any from the church to reformation.”

We look here in vain for the large article XVII, of the early Confession, concerning the *adiaphora*. On the other hand, we find here quite new declarations with regard to the power to form a church and administer the seals (XI), to the mutual relations between distinct congregations and its servants (XI, XIX, XXI, XXII), to the Bible as a standard of faith (XXII); besides an intentional defense that it is lawful for a Christian to fulfill the office of a mag-

istrate and to take an oath by the name of the Lord,—this last of course in opposition to the principles of the Mennonites.

The fifth article of the confession dealing with election and condemnation, led to the refutations, against which Helwys tried to argue in his third mentioned writing. It is entitled : “A short and plaine prooфе by the Word and works of God, that God’s decree is not the cause off anye Manns sinne or condemnation, and that all Men are redeemed by Christ. As also that no infants are condemned. Col. II 8, Psalm (XIX:113. Printed 1611, 8^v, 288 pages.”

According to professor W. H. Whitsitt of the Baptist Seminary, of Louisville, Kentucky, there is such an affinity in type with Helwys’ subsequent Work : “Mistery of iniquity,” published at London in 1612, that he thinks this book to be from the same press. Yet to argue from it, that Helwys had already in June 1611 left Amsterdam, is, I think, somewhat rash, as the English people, though living here in Holland, had continually printed their books in London, through the medium of their friends there.

A letter inserted in Chr. Lawne’s “Prophane schism,” page 56, shows, that Thomas Helwys was, with his nine associates, still July 8, 1611, in Amsterdam. It is therein stated that three congregations of English Mennonites were at that time in Amsterdam : Mr. Smyth, an Anabaptist of one sort, and Mr. Helwise of another, and Mr. Busher of another.”

Thomas Helwys dedicated, June 2, 1611, his book to Lady Bowes. In that dedication we read :—“that God giveing Adam freewil and power in himself not to eate of the forbidden fruit and live, or to eate and dye, could not in his eternal decree ordayne or appoint him to life or death, for then had his freewil bene overthowne ; and if Adam had not eaten and sinned (which was in his owne power) then had not death entred. Therefore God did not decree

that death should enter and then God's decree is not the cause of anie man's condemnation."

In the last part of the year 1611, rumors from England gave rise to another question than that of the profound doctrine of predestination exercised still more the minds of Thomas Helwys and his companions. It was this: whether flight in persecution were permitted?

The rulers of the Church of England, inflamed with rage towards those holding a different opinion, seized Bartholomew Legate and Edward Wightman and sentenced them to death. After a long imprisonment both these men were burnt at the stake, the first on March 18 and the second on April 11, 1612.

Whether or not persecution in England influenced their minds or not the question was: can we, with a good conscience, justify our residence here in Holland? In his book, "A short declaration of the mistery of iniquity," Helwys says:—"Furthermore if Christ gave this for a rule or precept to his disciples to flee persecution to save themselves then was it an absolute commandement and so did all the apostles and disciples of Christ break his commandement and sinne, in that they did not flee to save themselves alwaies when they were persecuted and hereby do these men condemne all their brethren that flee not as they do, except they wil and [add?] error to error and affirme as some of them do, that it is indifferent to flee or not to flee, making hereby this precept of Christ indifferent to be obeyed or not to be obeyed, which can not be affirmed of anie one precept of Christ: for nothing can bee both commanded and indifferent to be obeyed or done, and those words of Christ wil no way permit such indifferenci, for they are an absolute precept for that and for the which they are given which is not to flee to save themselves but to flee or go to another citie to preach the gospel. And we put these seducers in remembrance that our Saviour Christ gives this

rule also unto his disciples, that if they shal enter into anie house or citie that shal not receive them, no heare his words when they depart thence they shal shake of the dust of their feet for a witnes against that house or citie. But when will these men according to this rule of Christ shake of the dust of their feet for a witness against Amsterdam and Leyden which cities neither receive them nor the word they bring otherwise then they receive Turks and Jews and all sorts who come onely to seek safety and profit. It should seeme this rule of Christ, apperteynes not to these men but let them and al men se, that this rule apperteynes to whom so ever the other apperteynes, they being both given at one time and upon one and the same occasion and to one and the same persons: and when these great deceivers have learned not to divide Christ they wil learne also, not to divide his precepts and ordinances, taking what is agreeable to their corrupt mynds, and forsaking what is contrary to them. We wil passe by the lamentable fruits and iudgments that we have and doe se with our eies followes this damnable error when manie, yea, the most men that had in a great measure forsake the love of the world and begun to be zealous of some good thinges, being drawne by this opinion and these seducers into foreyne countries, not knowing which way to support their outward estate have turned againe unto the world, and are fayne to hunt too and froo, far and neare, after every occasion, and al is too little to satisfy most of their wants and nothinge wil satisfie some of their descries: al these things and manie more, these hirelings, their shepheards, can wel bear withall, so that they returne to the hive, that their portion may not be reproved and those of best harts and some of best quality that cannot runne and rove, and set their hearts to seeke the world consume that they have and fal under have conditions and by little and little loose . . . And let none thinke that we are altogether ignorant what building,

and warfare we take in hand, and that we have not sitt downe and in some measure throughly considered what the cost and danger may be, and also let none thinke that we are without sence and feeling of our owne inability to begin and our weaknes to endure to the end, the weight and danger of such a worke : but in al these things we hope and waite for wisedome and strength, and helpe from the Lord, who is able to establish us, that we may stand, and by weake meanes to confound mighty thinges, I Cor. 1. Let none therefore despise the day of small things, Zach. IV, 10. Nor bee grieved and say with that scorner Nehem IV, 24, what wil these weake Jewes doe? Thus comending al our poore endeavours to the best acceptance of every wel disposed reader beseeching the Lord to make his grace to abound to you al, for the glory of his name & the salvation of every one of your soules. Amen."

Indeed, this resolution did not deserve John Robinson's scornful censure. He says (Works III, page 159):—“neither is it likely, if he (Helwys) and the people with him at Amsterdam could have gone on comfortably, as they desired, that the unlawfulness of flight would ever have troubled him.”

Nevertheless before the end of the year 1611, Helwys and his nine adherents had returned to England. Poor small company, what could it do? Will it keep quiet, and escape, if possible, the quick eyes of its persecutors?

Far from it! No sooner were they settled at Spittlefield than Thomas Helwys published his book “A short declaration of the mistery of iniquity,” a copious work of 212 pages 16^{mo}. It discloses the deplorable state of the religious life, applies the prophecy of the second Beast in the Revelation to the Church of England, describes the king’s duties and rights and points out the errors, as well of the Puritans as of the Brownists.

This was not all. Helwys even sent a copy of it, with a

letter, under his hand, to the King. Both book and letter are still preserved in the British Museum.

The letter runs :

"Heare, o king, and dispise not ye counsell of ye poore, and let their complaints come before thee.

"The king is a mortall man, and not God, therefore hath no power over ye immortall soules of his subiects, to make lawes and ordinances for them, and to set spirituall lords over them.

"If the king have authority to make spirituall lords and lawes, then he is an immortall God, and not a mortall man.

"O King, be not seduced by deceivers to sin so against God, whome thou oughtest to obey, nor against they poore subiects, who ought and will obey thee in all thinges, with body, life and goods, or els let their lives be taken from ye earth.

THOMAS HELWYS.

"God save ye king.

"Spittlefield, neare London."

It appeared again, that fortune favors the bold. At least, no harm was done to Thomas Helwys. His little circle widened. There were perhaps among them descendants of the Netherlandres who advocated baptism on confession of faith, who had fled to England to escape from the persecutions during the reign of Charles V and Philips II. Many a martyr these had already furnished to the fires of Smithfield. However, true to their principles, they still continued to exist privately.

The list of Mennonite martyrs in England opens, May 25, 1535, with ten men and six women, all from Holland. In 1538 we find another six, again from Holland, who perhaps came in together with Anne of Cleves. Sixteen men and fifteen women, "coming out of outward ports into this realm, were expelled in 1539. They returned to Delft, where they suffered death as martyrs. Joris, from Paris, a

Hollander, was burnt April 24, 1551." A proclamation issued by Queen Elizabeth in 1561, commanded "the Anabaptists and such like heretics, which had flocked to the coast towns of England, from the parts beyond the sea, under colour of shunning persecution, and had spread the poison of their sects in England, to depart the realm within twenty days, whether they were natural-born people of the land or foreigners, upon pain of imprisonment and loss of goods. "A whole Congregation of Mennonites was, Easter, 1575, discovered in Aldgate and destroyed."

Again two years after, the Dutch Anabaptists held private conventicles in London and "perverted" a great many.

There may have been some Englishmen among the five hundred Anabaptists in one English city, of whom Hugh Latimer speaks in his Lent sermons preached before King Edward VI, but for the rest, all of them, except Jane Boucher of Kent, martyred May 2, 1550, and perhaps Robert Cooke, were from the Netherlands. Consequently, Fox rightly writes in his letter to Queen Elizabeth :—"there are some Anabaptists here in England, though not English, but come hither from Holland,—and we had great reason to give God thanks on this account, that I hear not any Englishman, that is inclined to this madness."

The name "Anabaptist" became a usual one of reproach for heretics, *e.g.* for Familists, and, in 1589 and 1608, even for Brownists. The assertion of the Baptists, that there were in England already advocates of baptism upon confession of faith, prior to the arrival of Netherland Mennonites, is utterly unfounded.

Leonard Busher, a Londoner, but for some time past, a refugee from persecution, to Amsterdam, headed there a party of Teleiobaptists, according to Chr. Lawne, "prophane schism," page 56. No other record of it occurs.

Leonard Busher, having now returned to London shared

Helwys' emotions. This is shown in his "Religious peace or a plea for liberty of conscience," which excellent treatise was reprinted several times. First in 1646 (38 pages 4^{to}) by Henry Burton, who revealed the author's name. Lastly, in the "Tracts" (page 1 to 81) of the Hansard Knolly's Society.

In 1614 Leonard Busher presented a copy of the work to the King. In that same year Thomas Helwys had to endure the attack, mentioned before, of John Robinson. From that moment, Helwys' name is no more recorded, but replaced by that of his partisan John Morton.* The supposition is obvious that Thomas Helwys died about that time. But his spirit survives. Brooks ("Puritans," II, page 282) assigns for his death :—"most probably about the year 1620;" R. Ashton (Works of Robinson, II, page 156 note) the year 1620. Crosby (History of the English Baptists, page 275) says—"how long Mr. Helwisse lived and continued the elder of this church of Baptists at London, I can not find." E. B. Underhill when speaking of writings published in 1615, rightly says :—"it is a question whether Mr. Helwys was living at their publication." B. Evans (Early English Baptists, I, page 226) states :—"of his death we know nothing."

*See also "John Robinson," by Walter H. Burgess 1920.—ED.

CHAPTER XXIII

CONCLUSION

JOHN MURTON, who replaced Thomas Helwys, exhibited more than ordinary talents as an author. He published in 1615 a tract bearing the title : "Persecution for religion judgd and condemned, in a discourse between an Antichristian and a Christian ; " In 1620 a writing on predestination entitled : "A description of what God hath predestinated concerning man," 16^{mo}, pages VIII and 176 ; and next, an elaborate address to the King for liberty of religion, headed : "A most humble supplication of many of the kings Majestys loyal subjects—who are persecuted only for differing in religion."

Long after his death, a paper from his hand was found when a wall was taken down, at Colchester ; which MS. was published by the Baptists under the title of : "Truth's Champion."

Yet the authorship of all these tracts is questioned. At all events, the production is of John Murton's congregation. It is shown by the references to Helwys' Confession. Underhill ("Tracts," page 89) points out the affinity in style and tendency of the tract on persecution for religion and that on predestination. The former Dexter places on his biographical list of John Murton's works, while John Robinson (Works I, page 269) positively says that the latter was written by John Murton.

Most of these tracts were reprinted several times ; finally in the "Tracts on Liberty of Conscience" of the Hansard Knolly's Society.

It is not surprising that a church, presided over by so zealous a man as John Murton, numbered, about 1626, already one hundred and fifty members, in spite of fierce persecutions by the State-church and of intestine contro-

versies. Sixteen members, under Elias Tookey, were expelled on that occasion. Further particulars concerning these controversies are found in the correspondence of 1624 and 1625 between them and the United Mennonite Congregation at Amsterdam; which letters are preserved in its records.

The pamphlet "Truth's Victory," page 19, informs us that John Murton's congregation assembled in 1645 at Newgate: "some thirty years ago Mr. Murton, a teacher of a church of Anabaptists in Newgate."

About 1626 this congregation was in communication with four other gatherings of kindred spirit at Lincoln, Sarum, Coventry and Tiverton. On November 12, 1626, these five congregations wrote a letter to the Amsterdam Mennonites for a complete union with them. The letter was delivered by two deputies.

The proposed union was hindered by the old points of difference respecting oaths, the office of a magistrate, the bearing of arms, the weekly celebration of the Lord's Supper, the right of any member to administer the sacraments, in the pastor's absence, and finally, also the opinion on incarnation.

The answer to that letter is dated November 26, and in relation to it, there is still a letter from Lincoln, September 5, 1630, and from Tiverton September, 13, 1630.

All these documents are preserved in the aforesaid archives (in Amsterdam).

Among the members of one of these five churches was one H. H., who, on May 10, 1622, stated in an elaborate missive his objections against infant baptism. Indeed, two years earlier, 1624, Dod and Cleaver had thought it necessary to write a defense of infant baptism, so as to deter their countrymen from secession. In vain! The number of advocates of adult baptism constantly increased. Even of the old Independent Church of Henry Jacob, formed at

London in 1616, a great many approved it and separated themselves, under their teacher John Spilsbury, from the other Independents, September 12, 1633. Others again an offset of Henry Jacob's church, in 1640, under Henry Jessey, followed their example.

Thus a numerous brotherhood, which held views entirely* corresponding with those of the Mennonites of Holland would have arisen in England, had not, eight years after, the practice of immersion been successfully propagated there.

One of them, Edward Barber, came then to the conviction that no baptism but dipping was valid. He circulated his book "A treatise of baptism or dipping, wherein is clearly shewed, that our Lord Christ ordained dipping and that sprinkling of children is not according to Christ's institution; and also the invalidity of those arguments, that are commonly brought to justify that practice," 1641.

This opinion readily entered his circle in 1643. Richard Blount, one of their teachers, was immersed at Rynsburg by the collegian Jan Batten, and thereupon he immersed the members of his own church. The ties of fellowship with the Dutch Mennonites, who, from that moment, they regarded as unbaptised people, were cut off. This is the origin of the brotherhood of the Baptists (in the Netherlands).

To trace their [The English exiles in The Netherlands] further events is not within our present design; but I cannot close the history of their forefathers: the Mennonites, originating in Holland from Brownism, without pointing

* Both the weekly celebration of the Lord's Supper and the right of the brethren to administer the seals soon fell into disuse. The opinion of most of the Mennonites on the incarnation was similar to theirs; respecting the bearing of arms and the office of a magistrate the Mennonites of a later period held the same views. Even as to oaths there was no other difference than that the English considered it as a merely invocation of God as witness, while the Mennonites took it for self-cursing.

out one of their greatest merits. They, namely, have been the first in England to draw a deep line between Church and State, and consequently sounded complete freedom of religion.

They had not lived in vain in parts where the spirit of the great William of Orange, though not having triumphed, had still a positive influence on many. They had not resided in vain in the native country of Dirk Volkertsoon Coornhert, the precursor of Arminius. They had not associated in vain with Mennonites, who, strongly feeling the difference between Christ's empire and the earthly empires, between Church and State, pressed the point that the State should not concern itself with sects or heresies, and that any measures of the magistrates to change a person's conviction must be highly disapproved.

As long as they were Brownists, they [these English exiles] taught the following (39th preposition of their Confession) :—"the State cannot make but must take ecclesiastical laws;" or to use the words of Barrowe, in his "Brief Discovery," page 91, 92 :—"Policy must take and not give laws to religion." The same proposition continues : "it is the duty of the magistrates to suppress and root out by their authority all false ministeries, voluntary religions and counterfeited worship of God, to enforce all their subjects, whether ecclesiastical or civil, to do their duties to God and men."

Francis Johnson, though acknowledging that no man was allowed to coerce consciences, says in his "Answer to Mr. Jacob his treatise, 1600," page 199 :—"it is not in the power of princes or any man whatsoever to persuade the conscience and make members of the church, but this must be left to God alone, who only can do it (Acts II, 47.) Princes may and ought, within their dominions, to abolish all false worship and all false ministeries whatsoever, and to establish the

true worship and ministry appointed by God in his Word, commanding and compelling their subjects to come unto and practice no other but this."

Henry Jacob, in his book "An humble supplication for tolerance and liberty to enjoy and observe the ordinances of Jesus Christ, 1609," page 13, says :—"we acknowledge no other power and authority for the overseeing, ruling and censuring of particular churches, how many so ever in number, in the case of their misgovernment, than that which is originally invested in your Royal Person," and page 20 :—"we do humbly beseech your majesty not to think, that by our suit for the said toleration we make an overture and way for toleration unto Papists, whose head is Antichrist, whose worship is idolatry, whose doctrine is heresy and a profession directly contrary to the lawful state and government of free countries and kingdoms, as your Majesty hath truly and judiciously observed."

John Robinson, too, asserts (Works III, page 277) :—"it proves not that the magistrate may not use his lawful power lawfully for the furtherance of Christ's kingdom and laws. It is true the magistrates have no power against the laws, doctrines and religion of Christ, but for the same, if their power be of God, they may use it lawfully and against the contrary."

Yet no sooner had John Smyth and Thomas Helwys taken the decisive step, than they sang a different tune.

John Smyth then declares in his confession (proposition LXXXVI, see Appendix H) : "that the magistrate is not by virtue of his office to meddle with religion or matters of conscience, to force and compel men to this or that form of religion or doctrine, but to leave Christian religion free to every man's conscience and to handle only civil trans-

gressions, for Christ only is the King and lawgiver of the church and conscience" *(James IV 12).

Then Thomas Helwys wrote to the king: "We bow ourselves to the earth before our lord the king in greatest humbleness, beseeching the king to judge righteous judgment herein, whether there be so unjust a thing, and of so great cruell tyranny, under the sunne, as to force mens conscience in their religion to God, seeing that if they err, they must pay the price of their transgression with the losse of their soules. Oh let the king judg, is it not most equall, that men should chuse their religion themselves, seeing they only must stand themselves before the judgment-seat of God to answere for themselves, when it shall be no excuse for them to say, wee were commanded or compelled to be of this religion, by the King or by them that had authority from him. And let our lord the king that is a man of knowledg, yet further consider that if the king should by his power bring his people to the truth, and they walke in the truth and dye in the profession of it, in obedience to the kings power, either for feare or love, shall they be saved? The king knowes they shal not, but they that obey the truth and love, whome the love of God constraineth, their obedience only shalbe acceptable to God. 1 Cor. 13. Thus may our lord the king see, that by his kingly power he cannot cause or make men bring an acceptable sacrifice to God, and will the king make men (whether they wil or no) bring an unacceptable sacrifice to God? and shal the king herein thinke he doth please God? God forbid!"

* "This is the first known expression of absolute liberty in any confession of faith," N. H. Marshall. . . . "It was, in short, from their dingy little meeting house [of Helwys and his followers] that there flashed out, first in England, the absolute doctrine of Religious Liberty," Prof. Masson. Encyclopedia Britannica, article. Baptists.—ED.

Such language king James had never heard before. Such words had as yet never been spoken in England. Leonhard Busher and John Murton, who, like Thomas Helwys had come from Holland, would shortly repeat them in a loud voice and with conclusive force.

Many of their principles* may have perished in the course of centuries; many forms, dear to them, may have lost their significance for us now,—for this truth alone, professed by them, though at the risk of imprisonment and even of their lives, they are entitled to a place of honor among the advocates of true progress, true toleration, and true freedom.

*The essential principle to the teachings of Dirk Volkertsoon Coornhert (1522-1590) scholar, poet, "restorer of the Dutch language" was this: "I hold as brethren all God-fearing people who rest on the foundation of Christ, whether they be Papists, Monks, Baptists, Reformed or Lutherans.—ED.

APPENDIX A

LIST OF MARRIAGES OF ENGLISH PEOPLE LIVING AT AMSTERDAM, TAKEN FROM THE REGISTER- BOOKS OF THAT TOWN FROM 1597 TO 1617.

[The names of those, who signed the deeds under their own hand, are marked in this list with an asterisk; where this sign is omitted either the bridegroom, the bride, or both, who could not write, affixed a cross, a monogram, or the like. In the latter case the misspelling of the town clerks, who knew no English could not be corrected. See, for instance, under No. 2 Benjamin Roit for Benjamin Wright; under No. 8 Frederick Jaebergh, whose name, according to No. 9, was Frederick Yearbury, etc. With one exception (No. 42), I have excluded their places of abode as being of less importance; most of them were living in the neighborhood of the Binnel-Amstel (Inner-Amstel).—In 1597 no marriage was recorded.]

1598

1. November 7. *Thomas Cockey from Stratford, chief man-servant, widower of Lysbet Walram, and Anna Clerk from London, widow of Christ. Raphier.

1599

2. December 11. *Benjamin Wright from London, engraver, 34 years, and Lysbet Martyn from London, 22 years. Witnesses : Joris and Catelyne Martyn, her parents.

1600

3. January 22. *Thomas Marston from Harle (Harlesford?) near Ipswich, mason, 26 years and Haesgen Abrahams, 16 years. Witness her father Abraham Heinricks.

4. April 22. Jan Huntley Thomassoon, from Bradford, bombazine-weaver, 31 years, and Anne Heyes of Chisseeester (Chichester) 21 years. Witness Janneken Heyes her mother; his mother being in England.

5. April 22. William Hantley from Bradford, bombazine-weaver, 26 years. Witness his brother Jan, and Marie Hil. Willemsd. from Oppen (Upton?), 26 years.

6. September 16. Jean Clercq from Marwick (War-

wick?) widower of Judeth N. and Lysbet Sodwell from Kent, widow of Franchoys Teyler.

7. September 16. * William Latham from Chierbory (Sherbourne?), 36 years and Lysbet Janson from Richmond, 38 years. Witnesses her brother-in-law and sister Thomas Bishop and Marie Johnson.

8. December 16. Antoine Fetcher from Zelwordt (Chelmsford?), bombazine-weaver, 30 years and Jenneken Richeman from Hilperton in Wiltshire, 18 years. Her witnesses: Alexander Carpenter from Wrington, John Stevenson from Bradford, and Frederick Jaebergh.

1601

9. March 24. * Frederyck Yearbury from Beckington, tallow-chandler, 25 years and * Francis Hooms from London. 20 years. Her mother Anna Witachter witness.

10. April 28. Jan Watley from Westbury in Wiltshire, bombazine-weaver, 27 years. (Witness Antoine Fetcher) and Anneke Thomas from Warminster near Selisbury, 25 years.

11. April 28. Jelvis Zetwell from Nottinghamshire, box-maker, 28 years, and Lysbet Williams from Essex.

12. June 16. * Dirck Barents from Lyndust (Lindhurst near Southampton?) skilled journeyman-Smith, 30 years, and Saertje Jans from London, widow of Lucas Claasz.

13. August 18. * Moses Johnson from Leicester, bombazine weaver, 34 years, and Margriete Sley from Ilperton in Wiltshire, 22 years. Her witness John Stephenson.

14. September 29. * Joseph Tatham from Lestershire (Leicestershire), bombazine-weaver, 33 years and Juliane Christoffels from London, widow of Claas Williams.

1602

15. June 29. Hans Hatmercer from Baxhire (Berkshire) widower of Jannehe Keels and Sara Bellat from London widow of Artur Billet.

16. July 13. * Richard Benet from Wolstershire (Wor-

cestershire), turner, 33 years, and Constance Kauwerde from Weymaut (Weymouth, Dorsetsh) 27 years.

17. December 28. *Christopher Bomay from London, goldsmith, widower of Elizabet Dryerlandt and Janneke Leuft Thomas from Hemstede (Hampstead) widow of Dirk Klerck.

18. December 28. *Reys Howell from Kaermargenshire (Caermarthensh.) bombazine-weaver, 28 years and Annetje Heys from Glocestor, widow of Jan Huntley.

1603

19. April 12. *John Stevens from Wiltshire, bombazine-weaver, and Margariete Eylen from Gloucestershire, widow of Benjamin Kennel.

20. May 17. *Henry Collgell from Hortscastle, (Horn-castle, Lincolnshire), tailor, 27 years and Sytgen Jansd. from Bradford, 23 years.

21. November 15. *Thomas Willasonne from Beverkorts bombazine-weaver, 32 years and Jenneke Cras from Essex, widow of Joris Marissen.

1604

22. February 14. *William Marie Johanssoon from Wrentorn (Wrington?), bombazine-weaver, 21 years and Lysbet Jans from Stratwerd (Stratford) 21 years. Witness her father, Jan Trout.

23. February 21. Edward Williams from Barrington (Barrington), wood-sawyer, 23 years and Delke Johndochter from Stradtfordt (Stratford) 23 years. Witness her father: Jan Trout.

24. April 10. *Thomas White from Sechtenfort (?) 26 years and *Rose Grempre from London, widow of John Philips.

25. July 3. Dirck Witt from Brust (Brigg, Lincolnshire?), sailor, 28 years and Tryn Claesdochter, 24 years.

26. August 7. *Jean de l'Ecluse from Rouen, France, printer, widower of Catherine de l'Epine, and Els Luys from Somersetshire, widow of Thomas Dicker.

27. August 14. *Thomas Porter from London, tallow-chandler, 33 years, and Caterina Grienbergh from London, 25 years. Witness her sister Rosa Grienberch (Greenbury?)

28. September 4. *William Hawkins from Wiltshire, hodman, 26 years and Anna Elinat from Wiltshire, 30 years.

29. September 15. Johan Klerck from Newton, Cambridgeshire, cobbler, widower of Isabel Serwell and Urzele Drienwery from Kenninghall, Norfolk, widow of Jan Deyns,

30. November 20. Edward Hymes from Hatdfeld (Hatfield), bombazine-weaver, 27 years and *Adgtje Paulusd. from Geuns (Nieuwstad-Gödens) in Enderland, 23 years.

1605

31. January 15. *William Richardsonne from London bombazine-weaver, 23 years and *Francies Home Jansd. from London widow of Frederik Jarbnick (compare No. 9).

32. May 7. Jan Thomas from London, mason, 24 years and Adaltje Spyker from Jarmuyen (Yarmouth) widow of Jan Bockel.

33. July 16. *Thomas Adams from Hemshire (Hampshire), glover, widower of Margriete Optams, and Lysbet Joisd. from Delberry (Dylesbury, Bucks?) 33 years.

34. October 22. Jan Haecgens from Chipnomp (Chippenham) bombazine-weaver, 26 years and Mary Tomas from Vroom (Frome, Somersetshire).

1606

35. January 14. Robert Jelisson from London and Magdalene Jans from Ypswich (Ipswich).

36. January 28. Richard Ardivey from —, bombazine-weaver, 33 years and Judith Jans from — widow of Wilhem Holder.

37. April 15. Thomas Michiels from Cambridge, turner, widower of Marie Komdie, and Margriete Williams from Leyster (Leicester) widow of Christoffel Wichin.

38. Augustus 19. *David Breton from London, widower

of Margriete Welssing, and Jenne Smyth from London, widow of Richard Watz.

39. September 5. *Johannes Simons from Baster (?), school-master, widower of Denner Smeers, and Annetje Lyfela from Sissester (Chichester) widow of Jois Caligaert.

40. November 11. *Rogier Payne from London, bombazine-frizzler, 28 years and Aelken Wilkens from London, William Herred.

41. December 16. Thomas Gillis from Hompton (Hampton?), cutler, widower of Janneke Williams, and Anna Aemsdochter from Chechestchester (Chichester) widow of Richard Paris.

1607

42. March 29. *Henricus Ainsworth from Swanton, teacher, 36 years, living on the Singel near the Heipoort (gate) and *Margery Halie from Ipswich, widow of Richard Appelbey.

43. June 2. *John Osborne from Worcestershire, 23 years, casemaker, and Francis Cotten from Berchshire (Berkshire) 19 years.

44. June 30. *William Williams from Bedfordshire, bombazine-weaver, and Deliane Christoffers from London, widow of Joseph Taekom.

45. July 28. Edward Scheyns from Suffolkshire, tailor, 25 years and Anna Trevirayd from Berkshire, 29 years.

46. September 1. *Thomas Consadine from London, embroiderer, widower of Mary Heys and Timothea Frekelthon from Standley (Stanley), 35 years.

47. September 1. *Edmund Webb from Berkshire, bombazine-weaver, 21 years, and Alyt Goodfellow from Northampton.

48. December 15. *John Dericks from Nortwitz (Norwich), bombazine-weaver, 25 years, and Aelken Martins from Breyd (?) in Bartshire (Berkshire), 22 years,

49. December 15. *Thomas Norwayer from Chipnem

(Chippenham), bombazine-weaver, 26 years, and Janneke Koolsson from Wysbyt Wisbeach, (Cambridgeshire) 24 years.

1608

50. January 12. *Jean Beauchampe from Northamptonshire, 40 years, and Susanna Sanders from Warxhire (Warwickshire) 20 years.

51. January 20. *Hendrik Hendrickszoon from Stilten (Stilton, Huntingdon), draper, 27 years, and *Martgen Hendrickx from here (Amsterdam), 22 years.

52. July 5. *Henry Cullandt from Nottinghamshire, bombazine-weaver, 20 years (producing a deed under the hand of Richard Clyfton, pastor at Sutton, informing that the bans of his marriage had been given there), and Margarete Grymsdiche from Sutton (Long-Sutton Lincolnshire?), 30 years.

53. August 23. *John Murton from Gueynsborch (Gainshborough), furrier, 25 years, and *Jane Hodgkin from Worchesp (Worksop), 23 years.

54. August 30. Francis Pigett from Axen (Hexham?), hodman, 32 years, and Margriet Struts from Bafford (Bedford), 30 years.

55. October 4. *Jacobus Hurste from Rekfort (Retford), bombazine-weaver, 26 years, and Geertrud Bennister from Rekford (Retford), 23 years.

56. November 29. Robert Newman from Syts (?), bombazine-frizzler, 28 years at Middleburg, and Dorothea Berrit from Derby, 22 years.

57. December 6. *Cuthbert Hutton from Daelten (Dalton, Lancastersire), pewterer, 27 years and Prudence Blass from Berford (Bradford) 21 years.

58. December 10. Jan Willems from Redtford (Retford), bombazine-weaver, 24 years, and Marserye Dael from Laundt (Louth ?) 32 years.

1609

59. April 11. William Jepson from Worship (Worksop), in Notinghamshire, carpenter, 26 years, and Rosemund Korsfeld, also from Worship, 23 years.

60. April 11. Robert Dampert from Stafford, hawker, widower of Stynke Gerrits, and Lyntje Claesdochter, 25 years.

61. April 14. *Joan de l'Ecluse from Rouen, printer, widower of Els Dikkers, and Jacomyne May from Wisbus (Wisbeach) in Cambridgeshire, 30 years. Her brother Willem Hoyt witness.

62. August 15. *Anthony Traford from London, hatter, 24 years, and Lysbet Jonas from Taenbource (Tonbury, Worcestershire ?) 23 years.

63. September 19. *Thomas Cox from Chichester, tailor, 31 years, and Margaret Pickerings, 28 years.

64. November 29. Raaf Hamelyn from Fordimbrugh (Fordingbridge, Hants) tailor, 24 years, and Anna Luyt. His witnesses are his brother Hendrick and mother Judith Socin.

1610

65. February 6. *Christopher Laund from Norfolk, buttonmaker, 30 years, and *Susanna Goldt from Westcontrey (the West Country?) widow of Robert Alef.

66. August 2. *Walter Smith from Berry (Bury, Lancashire ?) tobacco-pipemaker, 30 years, and *Anne Colman from Woesterp (Wooltsthorp, Lincolnshire) 29 years.

67. August 14. William Cok from Loxael (?) bombazine-weaver, widower of Magdalena Kanwel and Aelken Braedje from Welles (Wells) in Somersetshire, widow of Jan Braedsie.

68. September 4. Jan Brun from Briston (Bristol), glover, 30 years, and Susanne Muessinck from Wrinston (Wrington ?) Somersetshire, 21 years.

69. October 23. * Matthew Auckland from Brechtwyl (Blackwell, Worcestershire ?) glover, 24 years, and Elisabet Pygadt from Axen (Hexham ?), 19 years.

70. December 11. * Richard Bennet from Worcestershire, ivory-turner, widower of Constance Couward, and Mary Jens from London, 22 years. Witness her step-father Roger Waterer.

1611

71. January 20. * William Penroes from Devonshire, bombazine-weaver, 27 years, and Anne Sharp from Bedfordshire, 27 years. Witness her overseer (?) Jan Withorff.

72. February 12. * Edward Armfielde from Eppestown, damast-weaver, 26 years, and Margery Orghan from Kasselwey (?) 33 years.

73. February 12. * Josewy Cobart from Wiltshire, bombazine-weaver, widower of Janneke Jans, and Lysbet Heynrichtd from Sommershire (Somersetshire) 20 years.

74. April 23. Jan Cot from Ugenthon in Bashire (Overton, Berkshire) cutler, 23 yeers and * Mary Perkins from London, 20 years. Witness her father Thomas Perkins.

75. May 14. * Samuel Whitaker from Somersetshire, bombazine-weaver, 23 years, and * Deliverance Penry from Hamptonshire, 21 years.

76. June 11. * William Jansen from Tanton (Taunton, Somersetshire) bombazine-weaver and Anne Jans from Brouton (Broughton) 23 years.

77. September 15. * Richard Mortlocke from Herrits (Harwich) in Essexshire, widower of Lysbet Mortlocke, and Janneke Willemis from Iverstone (Ingarestone) in Essex, widow of Thomas Thaemson.

78. November 5. * Charles Thicels from Saltzbury (Salisbury) 28 years, and Maria Hutton from Dubbesbridge (?) 27 years.

79. November 19. Edward Pekzeal from Wordinghegen (Worthing, Sussex ?), tailor, 47 years, and Justina Kox

from Sissethel (?). The banns were forbidden and the marriage was not carried through.

80. December 3. Richard Galy from Bedfordshire, mason, 40 years, and Jenne Swaen from London, widow of Lowys Jenkins.

81. December 17. Thomas Brown from Sussex, bombazine-printer, 26 years, and Jannelje Lodewyks, widow of Bartolomeus Adriaens from Alkmaar.

1612

82. April 7. Robert Jaques from Wylshire (Wiltshire), bombazine-weaver, 26 years, and Saartje Parys from London, 17 years.

83. April 14. * Abraham Pratt from London, barber on board a ship, 32 years, and * Jane Charter from Saltzbury (Salisbury) 34 years. Witness her cousin Edward Pexael.

84. April 4. * Eduard Amlin from Saltzbury (Salisbury). bombazine-weaver, 25 years, and Lysbeth Smyth from Cambridge, 21 years.

85. June 1. * Oliver Smyth from Southampton, tailor, 22 years, and * Barber Stubbard from Southampton, 21 years.

86. July 14. * Salomon Thomson from Lauwe (Louth, Lincolnshire?) bombazine-weaver, 21 years, and Dorothea Struth from Axem (Hexham ?) 34 years. Witnesses his father Antoni Thoms and her cousin Francis Pygott.

87. August 18. Hendrik Everts from Stokholm, 33 years, and Susanna Ingles from London, widow of Robert Aegem.

88. September 22. Thomas Salzbery from London, box-maker, widower of Aelken Andries, and Elisabet Sharp from Nottinghamshire, 25 years. Her witnesses are Francis, Joseph and Richard Bennett.

89. November 10. Parthey Silman from Alewicke (Alnavick) in Nothumber, bombazine-weaver, 26 years, and Elsebet Glind from Gilbe (?) in Leicestershire, 26 years.

1613

90. February 2. * Timotheus Elkes from London, physician, 34 years, and Margerieta Eerdewyns, 24 years.
91. February 16. * Jonathan Jans Hart from Haetfield (Hatfield) bombazine-weaver, 23 years, and Celiken Jelisd from Brakkelee (Brackley, Buckinghamshire), 22 years. Witnesses his parents Jan Hart and Trynke Joosten, and her father Thomas.
92. April 23. * Thomas Yellison from Strackford (Stratford), buttonmaker, widower of Tanneke Jelis, and Anneke Ansen from Cirnter (Cirencester), widow of Willem Salsbury.
93. June 29. * William Masit from Possit (Portsea), bombazine-weaver, widower of Lysbet Willems, and Dorothea Thomas from Thorburg (Thornbury, Gloucester), 19 years. Her witness is her father Thomas Perkyns.
94. July 6. * Timothy Moyse from Penchaster (?) in Kentshire, 26 years, and Lyzbet Meryweder from Ingelbey (Ingoldwells ?) in Lincolnshire, 23 years.
95. July 6. * Richard Mortlake from Herwitz (Harwich), blacksmith, widower of Jannetje Tangin, and Elske Tillet from Niewbery (Newbury, Berkshire) widow of William Dardin.
96. July 6. * Giles Silvester from Adamchartle (?) 29 years, and * Marie Arnould from Laystad (Leicester ?), 19 years. Witnesses her parents Antonie and Elsken Arnould.
97. July 13. * Rainold Hartt from Abbotsbury (Dorsetshire), 35 years and Magiory Willobey from Fovey (Fowey, Cornwall ?) 25 years.
98. July 13. Eduard Philip from Bedfordshire, bombazine-weaver, 35 years, and Anna Hutton from Boolem (?) 24 years.
99. August 31. Willem Johns from Beynessen (Bowness?) bombazine-weaver, widower of Yde Milles, and Anna Sanders from Saltsburgh (Salisbury), widow of Simon Willes.

100. September 7. *Richard Plater from Bockingham, compositor, 24 years, and Janneke Hodry from Nottinghamshire, 28 years.

101. November 9. *William Bradford from Ostervelde (Austerfield) fustian-worker, 23 years, "living at Leyden, where he was required to have published the banns, declared to have no parents," and Dorothea May, 16 years, from Witsbuts (Wisbeach). Her witness is Henry Mayr.

1614

102. March 22. Dirk Mancell from Leicestershire, bom-bazine weaver, widower of Lysbet Bakker, and Anna Lytte from Wiltshire, widow of Ralf Amlin (See No. 64).

103. April 19. Thomas Giles from Somersetshire, blacksmith, widower of Anna Paris, and Lysbet Naris from Hampshire, divorced from Steven Bradly (see No. 41).

104. June 7. *Daniel Studley from London, widower of Janneke Auterits, and Ursule Trieuwery from Norwits (Norwich), widow of Jan de Klercg, see No. 29.

1615

105. February 14. *Henry Reckode from Sandwitz (Sandwich) comber, 34 years, and Sara Jans from London, 24 years. Witness her father Jan Hazel.

106. April 18. Thomas Syarth from Berington (Barrington) bombazine-weaver, 27 years, and Machteld Roberts, 18 years. Witness her mother Ariaentje Jan Christoffels.

107. May 2. *Swithunus Grindall from Tunstal in Yorkshire, ligature-maker, 22 years, and Margriete Moritz from Scheckbye (Saxby) in Nottinghamshire, 24 years.

108. June 6. *Hendrick Mot from London, cane-chair maker, 28 years, and Sara Peyn, 19 years. Witnesses her parents Jan Peyn and Immeken.

109. *Mathew Auckland from Bredwelle (Blackwell?) glover, widower of Lysbet Pyketh, and *Geertje Arens-dochter from Bunschoten, 28 years. See No. 69.

110. August 29. William Waldern from Klokfort (Gosport, Hants?) and Ruth Walker from Marguet overton (Overton) in Rottland (Ruthland), 20 years. Witness her father Eduard Walker.

111. November 9. Alexander Hodgdin from Warssop (Worksop) damask-weaver, 25 years, and Ursele Harstaff from Gende (?) widow of Thomas Bywater.

1616

112. July 23. * Pieter Alken from Meltenmook (Melton Mowbray Leicester?) blade-smith, 24 years, and * Marytje Alberts, 28 years.

113. October 13. Jan Robberts from Nottinghamshire, painter, 25 years, and * Maritje Thomas from London, 17 years. Witness her mother Maritje Jans.

114. October 27. * William Davids from Derbyshire, embroiderer, 29 years, and Beliken Harmans from Hillegeloo, 24 years.

115. November 12. * Jan de l'Ecluse from Rouen, school-master, widower of Jacomyne May, and Anne Harris from Hamberoo (Handborough) in Oxfordshire, 27 years. See Nos. 26 and 61.

116. November 12. * Claes Jonge, from London, cooper, 30 years, and Machtelt Pieters from Amersfoort, 27 years.

117. November 12. * Thomas Sanford from London, silk-ribbon-weaver, 32 years, orphan and Martje Willems, 19 years. Witnesses her parents Willem Jans Clerck and Magdalena Willems.

1617

118. January 14. * Charles Shirkley from Salzbery (Salisbury, widower of Merial Huttend, and Anna Thomas from Ipswich, 22 years.

APPENDIX B

THE DIFFERENCES OF THE CHURCHES OF THE SEPERATION
CONTAYNING A DESCRIPTION OF THE LEITOURGIE
AND MINISTERIE OF THE VISIBLE CHURCH ANNEXED
AS A CORRECTION AND SUPPLEMENT TO A LITTLE
TREATISE LATELY PUBLISHED BEARING
TITLE, PRINCIPLES AND INFERENCES,
CONCERNING THE VISIBLE CHURCH

PUBLISHED

1. For the satisfaction of every true lover of the truth especially the Brethern of the Seperation that are doubtfull.
2. As also removing of an unjust calumnie cast upon the Brethren of the Seperation of the second English Church at Amsterdam.
3. Finally for the clearing of the truth ; and the discovering of the mysterie of iniquitie yet further in the worship and offices of the Church.

DIVIDED INTO TWO PARTS

1. Concerning the Leitourgie of the Church.
2. Concerning the ministerie of the Church which hath two sections. One of the Eldership : Another of the Deacons office, whereto apertaineth the Treasury

BY JOHN SMYTH

Search the Scriptures : John 5, 39. Try all things, keep the good thing, I Thes. 5, 21 Beloved : Believe not every spirit. i John 4, ii The Spirits of the Prophets are subordinate to the Prophets i Cor. 14, 32.

1608

TO EVERY TRUE LOVER OF THE TRUTH
ESPECIALLY TO THE BRETHERN OF THE
OF THE SEPERATION, SALUTATIONS :

Not long since I published a little methode intituled principles and inferences concerning the visible church, Wherein chiefly I purposed to manifest the true consti-

tution of the church, a matter of absolute necessities and now so cleared by the writings of the late witnesses of Jesus Christ the auncient brethren of the seperation as that it seemeth nothing can further be added. The absolute necessitie of the true constitution appeareth, because if the church be truly constituted and framed ther is a true church : the true sporose of Christ : if the church be falsely constituted, ther is a false church and she is not the true sporose of Christ. Herein therfor especially are those auncient brethren to be honoured, that they have reduced the church to the true Primitive and Apostolique Constitution which consisteth in these three things. 1. The true matter which are sayntes only. 2. The true forme which is the uniting of them together in the covenant. 3. The true propertie which is communion in all the holy things and the power of the L. Jesus Christ, for the mayntayning of that communion. To this blessed work of the L. wherein those auncient brethren have labored I know not what may be more be added. I thincke rather ther can nothing be added: but now Antichrist is perfectly both discovered and consumed in respect of the constitution by the evidence of the truth, which is the brightness of Christ's comming. Now although they have also verie worthelie employed themselves in the leitourgie, ministerie and Treasurie of the Church, both in discovering the forgeries and corruptions which the man of synne had intermingled and also in some good degree reducing them to ther primitive puritie, wherein they weere by the Apostles left unto the churches. Yet wee are persuaded that herein Antichrist is not utterly eyther revealed or abolished, but that in a verie high degree he is exalted even in the true constituted churches: In regard, whereof, as also being enforced upon some occasion well knowne wee thought it necessary to publish this description of the Leitourgie and ministerie of the church. The ministerie I say consisting

of the Presbytery and Deacons office, whereto apertyneth the Treasuree and that for these ends: partly that the truth wee walk in may be manifested to the world, among whome our opinion and practice is so straungely and falsely traduced: partly that the differences betwixt us and the auncienter brethren of the Seperation may appeare, and thereby men may be occasioned to trye the truth from error and to hold it fast. And although in this writing somthing ther is which overthwarteth my former judgment in some treatises by mee formerly published: Yet I would intreat the reader not to impute that as a fault unto mee: rather it should be accounted a vertue to retract errors. Know therfor that latter thoughts oft times are better than the former: and I do professe this (that no man account it stranng) that I will every day as my erroes shalbe discovered confesse them and renounce them: For it is our covenant made with our God to forsake every evil way whither in opinion or practise that shalbe manifested unto us at any time; and therfor lett no plead now, as some have formerly done, these men are inconstant: they would have they know not what: They will never be satisfied and the like. For wee professe even so much as they object: That we are inconstant in erroer: that wee would have the truth, though in many particulars wee are ignorant of it: Wee will never be satisfied in endevoring to reduce the worship and ministery of the church, to the primitive apostolique institution from which as yet it is so farr distant: Wherfor my earnest desire is, that my last writing may be taken as my present judgment and so farre forth as it is overthwarteth any former writing of myne let it be accounted a voluntary retractation and unfeyned repentance of my former errors and evil wayes before the whole earth. And lett no man bee offended at us for that wee differ from the auncient brethren of the seperation in the leitourgie, Presbyterie and Treasurie of the church; for we hold not

our fayth at any mans pleasure or in respect of persons, neyther doe wee bynd ourselves to walk according to other mens lynes further than they walk in the truth ; neyther lett the world think that wee approve them in all their practises : let them justifie their proceedings or repet of them, wee have (wee willingly and thankfully acknowledge) receaved much light of truth from their writings for which mercy we alwayes blesse our God : and for which help wee always shall honour them in the Lord and in the truth. But as Paull withstood Peter to his face and separated from Barnasbas that good man that was full of the holy ghost and of faith, for just causes : So must they give us leave to love the truth and honour the Lord more than any man or church upon earth. Now if any of the adversaries of us both shall hierby take occasion of offense, thereby to speake will, or to withhold or revolt from the truth : let these men consider with themselves ; First : that they even in that theyr Aegyptian darknesse wherein they walk have their most violent oppositions and deadly contentions : Agayne, the Apostle hath foretold that it is necessary their should bee dissentions even in the true churches that they which are approved may bee knowne : besides the truth shall by our differences bee further cheered and theyr Antichristian worship and ministery more and more detected and cast into the bottomlesse pitt from whence it issued. Finally the Apostle saith that Christ is a stone to thumble and a rock of offence to the disobedient as well as a chief corner stone elect and pretious to them that believe : and blessed are they that are not offended at Christ or his truth. So desyring the reader to weygh well what I plead and not to bee offended at the manifold quotations which are of necessity that by places compared together the truth which is a mystery may appeare and antichristianisme which is the mystery of iniquity may be discovered. I cease, commanding him to the grace of God in Jesus Christ, who in

due tyme will bring his people out of Aegypt and Babylon spiritually so called, though for a season they are there kept in Antichristian captivity and greevous spirituall slaverny : which the Lord in his due tyme effect, Amen, Amen.

JOHN SMYTH

The principall contents of this treatise or our differences from the auncyent brethren of the seperation.

1. We hould that the worship of the new testament properly socalled is spirituall proceeding originally from the hart : and that reading out of a booke (though a lawfull eclesiastical action) is no part of spirituall worship, but rather the invention of the man of synne it being substituted for a part of spirituall worship.

2. We hould that seeing prophesiing is a parte of spirituall worship : therefore in time of prophesiing it is unlawfull to have the booke as a helpe before the eye.

3. We hould that seeing singing a psalme is a parte of spirituall worship : therefore it is unlawfull to have the booke before the eye in time of singinge a psalme.

4. We hould that the Presbytery of the Church is uniforme : and that the triformed Presbyterie consisting of three kinds of Elders viz.: Pastors, Teachers, Rulers is none of Gods ordinance by mans devise.

5. Wee hold that all the Elders of the Church are Pastors : and that lay Elders (so called) are Antichristian.

Wee hold that in contributing to the Church Treasurie their ought to bee both a separation from them that are without and a sanctification of the whole action by Prayer and Thankesgiving.

Page 31. Certayne demandes, wherto wee desire direct and sound answer, with proof from the Scriptures.

1. Concerning the kingdom and Priesthood of Christ. Whither the kingdom and Priesthood of the Old Testament were not distinct and severall, both in person, office and actions.

Whither the kingdom and Priesthood of the Old Testament were not distinct and severall, both in person, office and actions.

Whither the kingdom and Priesthood of the old Testament were not typical, shadowith out the kingdom and Priesthood of Christ?

Whither the kingdom and Priesthood of Christ are not distinct, both in office and action though united in one person?

Whither as Christ is both king and Priest so also the saynts are not by Christ annoyned to be kings and Priests unto God?

Whither the office and actions of the Sayntes in the kingdom and Priesthood are not distinct and several, though united in person?

Whither the office and actions of the kingdom in the Old Testament were not of opposition, difference, plea and strife?

Page 32. Whither the office and actions of the kingdom of the Sayntes in the new testament are not of the same nature?

Wither the office and actions of the Priesthood of the Old Testament were not of union, concord and agreemt in sacrificing?

Whither the office and action of the Priesthood of the Saynts in the new Testament be not of the same nature?
Rom. 15.6.

2. Concerning the spirit and spirituall: the Letter and Literal.

Whither in this phrase and the like (viz. The manifestation of the Spirit) the spirit doth not signifie principally, both the spiritual and regenerate part of the soule, and the spirituall matter in the regenerate part.

Whither the manifestation of the Spirit doth import eyther the spirituall matter which a man bringeth out of a

book by reading : or the spiritual and gracious gestures and motions which a man expresseth in reading and performing other actions.

Whither quenching the spirit be not to withhold and restrayne the spiritual matter which by the spirit of sanctification is stirred up in the regenerate part of the soule.

Whither reading wordes contayned in a book doth manifest the spirit that is, expresse the spirituall matter which is in the regenate part of him that readeth or rather doth not cleane put it by, leave it and diverteth to another subject and so quencheth it ?

Whither the letter doth not properly signifie the literal and ceremonial ordinances of the Old Testament, 2 Cor. 3:6 which began outwardly signifying and conveighing spiritual matter into the regenerate part of the soule from without ?

Whither reading the wordes contayned in a booke be not as much and as truly literal beginning outwardly and conveying matter inwardly as the sacrificing of a beast in the Old Testament.

Whither sacrificing in the Old Testament may not as truly be accounted the manifestation of the Spirit as reading : seeing sacrificing did expresse the spiritual matter Chr. Jesus, and was done with a grace by the Priests, even as reading doth expresse the spiritual matter of the booke Christ Jesus and is performed with a grace by the reader ?

3. Concerning writing and reading.

Whither letters or characters are not invented by the witt of man to expresse the articulare sounds of natural speech : and whither the inventors of letters are not mentioned in historyes ?

Whither writing be not the invention of man by the same reason ?

Whither reading be not the invention of man by the same reason ?

Whither writing and reading be not things meerly artifcial though speaking be natural?

Whither writing and reading being meer artificial devices may be properly called spirituall worship and whither if reading be spiritual worship, worship be not so also?

Whither that because the mannarie trade of the butcher and cook in killing rosting boyling the sacrifices, of the engraver in the stones of the brestplate, of the apotecary the annoyning oyle, of the mason and carpenter in the hewing of stone and wood and so sequently of the scribe or paynter in writing and reading, were literal and ceremonial eyther worship or actions in the Old Testament, they may now be called spirituall worship actions in the New Testament and whither one rather then another and why?

4. Of the Holy Scriptures and translations.

Whither the Holy Scriptures viz. the originals Hebrew and Greek do not conteyne in the infinite depth of truth and whither the holy spirit did not intend by the to signifie all the truths, which all the men of the earth, eyther hereto fore, now or hereafter truly collect from thence?

Whither the holy originals do not conteyne more matter then the Prophets and Apostles that wrote them did conceave?

Whither the Hebrew and Greek tong in their idiomes, words and phrases are not plentifully more comprehensive. and significative of matter the any other language whatsoever?

Whither as the original Scriptures are the image of the mynd of God : so a translation be not the image of the original Scriptures.

Whither the image can possibly expresse the thing thereby signified fully.

Whither it be possible for any language verbatim without paraphast to expresse the Hebrew and Greek text of the holy originals fully?

Whither a translation made by the most learned and holy man of the earth doth or can expresse truly and fully the holy ghost's meaning in the originals.

Whither therefor a translation made by the most learned and holy men of the earth be not an Apocrypha writing of an ordinary man?

Whither if an Apocrypha writing may be brought into the worship of God to be read all may not: and whither of some apocrypha—writings must be cast out of the church why not all, yea the translation also?

5. Of worship, and rise of booke in tyme of worship in the new Testament.

Whither prayer, prophesying and Singing Psalms be the true as only parts of the worship of the new Testament?

Whither reading be eyther prayer, prophesy or a Psalme?

Whither reading be lawfull in tyme of prayer, prophesy and singing Psalms?

Whither reading doth not put matter into the hart of him that readeth and worship be not the producing of matter out of the hart of him that worshippeth?

Whither the Apostles and primitive Churches did ever pray, prophesy and sing psalmes out of booke, after the day of Penticost. Act. 2. ?

Whither they did not pray, prophesy and sing Psalms as the holy ghost gave them utterance?

Whither the place 1 Cor. 14:26 doth not teach that a man must have a Psalme have doctryne, that is in his hart, whence he must produce it by the manifestation of the spirit?

Whither if a book must be lain aside in prayer, it must not be so also in prophesy and singing Psalms and why?

Whither if a book be retayned in prophesy and a psalme, it may not be so also in prayer and why?

Whither ther be two kindes of prayer, prophesy and Psalms, one with books, another without books or one sort

of prayer without booke: and two sorts of prophesying and Psalmes; with or without booke and why: and whither this can be warranted by the apostles doctryne and practice?

6. Concerning a Psalm.

Whither as in prayer and prophesy one alone speaketh, and the rest pray and prophesy by consent 1 Cor. 11:4 so in a Psalme one only must speak and the rest must conset 1 Cor. 14:16.

Whither in a Psalm a man must be tyed to meter and Rithme, and time and whither voluntary be not as necessary in tune and wordes as in matter.

Whither meter, Rithme and tune be not quenching the spirit?

Whither a psalme be only thanksgiving without meter, Rithme or tune, yea or nay?

7. Concerning the Elders or Presbytery.

Whither all the Elders must not be able to teach and rule as the Apostle saith, didacticoi and proistamenoi 1 Tim. 3.

Whither didacticos that is apt to teach be not expounded by the Apostle Tit. 1:9 by three particulars: viz:

1. to teach wholesome doctrine

2. to exhort: 3 to convince the gainsayers

Whither Teaching and Ruling be not the two parts of feeding?

Whither feeding that is teaching, Ruling, exhorting, comforting be not the pastors office, and therefore all the Elders pastors?

Whither the Eldership hath not all their power from the Church?

Whither the Eldership hath a negative voyce in the Church that nothing can be concluded without them?

Whither if most of the church consent and the Elders dissent, the matter cannot passe against the Elders dissent.

Whither seeing the Church may depose and excommuni-

cate the Eldership they may not passe other sentences without or contrary to their liking?

Whither may not a man propound his mater to the Church without acquaynting the Elders with it in the first place.

Whither in the second degree of admonition a man is not bound to take an Elder for witnesse?

Whither one Elder only in a Church by Gods ordinance and whither if ther be chosen any Elder ther must be chosen more then one?

Whither the scales of the covenant may not be administered, ther being yet no Elders in office?

8. Concerning the Treasury and contributions.

Whither the treasury be not holy?

Whither contribution be not an action of the communion of Saynts?

Whither as in other parts of communion so in this, ther ought not to be a separaion from them that are without?

Whither the action of contribution must not be sanctified by prayer and thanksgiving.

APPENDIX C

LIST OF PASSENGERS OF THE "MAYFLOWER"

(Preserved by Governor William Bradford at the end of his
"History of Plymouth Plantation.")

The names of those which came over first, in ye year 1620, and were by the blessing of God the first beginers and (in a sort) the foundation of all the Plantations and Colonies in New-England ; and their families.

Mr. John Carver ; Kathrine, his wife ; Desire Minter ; and 2 man-servants, John Howland, Roger Wilder ; William Latham, a boy ; a maid servant, and a child yt was put to him, called Jasper More.

Mr. William Brewster ; Mary, his wife ; with 2 sons, whose names were Love and Wrasing ; and a boy was put to him called Richard More ; and another of his brothers. The rest of his children were left behind, and came over afterwards.

Mr. Edward Winslow ; Elizabeth, his wife ; and 2 men-servants, caled Georg Sowle and Elias Story ; also a little girle was put to him, caled Ellen, the sister of Richard More.

William Bradford, and Dorothy, his wife ; having but one child, a sone, left behind, who came afterward.

Mr. Isaack Allerton, and Mary, his wife ; with 3 children, Bartholmew, Remember and Mary ; and a servant boy, John Hooke.

Mr. Samuell Fuller, (*) and a servant, caled William Butten. His wife was behind, and a child which came afterwards.

John Crakston ; and his sone, John Crakston. Captain Myles Standish, and Rose, his wife.

(*) Samuel Fuller died before the arrival at Cape Cod.

Mr. Christopher Martin, and his wife, and 2 servants, Salomon Prower and John Langemore.

Mr. William Mullines, and his wife, and 2 children, Joseph and Priscilia ; and a servant, Robart Carter.

Mr. William White, and Susana, his wife, and one son, caled Resolved, and one borne a ship-bord, caled Pere-griene(*) ; and 2 servants, named William Holbeck and Edward Thomson.

Mr. Steven Hopkins, and Elizabeth, his wife, and 2 children, caled Giles, and Constanta, a daughter, both by a former wife ; and 2 more by this wife, caled Damaris and Oceanus (**) ; the last was born at sea ; and 2 servants, called Edward Doty and Edward Litster.

Mr. Richard Warren ; but his wife and children were lefte behind, and came afterwards.

John Billinton, and Elen, his wife ; and 2 sones, John and Francis.

Edward Tillie, and Ann, his wife ; and 2 children, that were their cossens, Henry Samson and Humillity Coper.

John Tillie, and his wife ; and Eelizabeth, their daughter.

Francis Cooke, and his sone John. But his wife and other children came afterwards.

Thomas Tinker, and his wife, and a sone.

John Rigdale, and Alice, his wife.

James Chilton, and his wife, and Mary, their dougter. They had an other doughter, yt was married, came afterward.

Edward Fuller, and his wife and Samuell, their sonne.

John Turner, and 2 sones. He had a doughter, came some years after to Salem, wher she is now living.

Francis Eaton, and Sarah, his wife, and Samuell, their sone, a yong child.

(*) Born after their arrival at Cape Cod, and therefore should not be included in the number of passengers.

(**) She is included in the list of passengers, and so also is William Butten, the servant of Samuel Fuller, who died before the arrival at Cape Cod. Only one of these should be enumerated.

Moyses Fletcher, John Goodman, Thomas Williams, Digerie Preist, Edmond Margeson, Peter Browne, Richard Britterige, Richard Clarke, Richard Gardenar, Gilbart Winslow.

John Alden was hired for a cooper, at South-Hampton, wher the ship victuled ; and being a hopfull yong man, was much desired, but left to his owne liking to go or stay when he came here ; but he stayed and maryed here.

John Allerton and Thomas Enlish were both hired, the later to goe Mr. of a shalop here, and ye other was reputed as one of ye Company, but was to go back (being a seaman) for the help of others behind. But they both dyed here, before the ship returned.

There were allso other 2 seamen, hired to stay a year here in the country, William Trevore, and one Ely. But when their time was out, they both returned.

These, bening aboute a hundred sowls (*) came over in this first ship ; and began this worke which God of his goodnes hath hithertoo blesed ; let his holy name have ye praise.

(*) This list adds up 104, but Peregrine White and William Butten or Oceanus Hopkins should be deducted, which will leave the true number of passengers 102, of whom 51 died within a few months after their arrival at Cape Cod.

APPENDIX D

JOHN SMYTH'S EARLIEST CONFESSION OF FAITH

[Taken from the copy written in Latin in Smyth's own handwriting, preserved in the Archives of the Amsterdam Mennonite congregation, 2 pages folio, No. 1347.]

Corde credimus et ore confitemur :

I

Unum esse Deum, optimum, maximum, gloriosissimum,
creatorem et conservatorem omnium : qui est Pater, Filius
et Spiritus Sanctus.

2

Deum Creasse et redemisse genus humanum ad imaginem
suam, omnesque homines (nernine reprobato) ad vitam
predestinasse.

3

Deum nullam peccandi necessitatem cuiquam imponere,
sed hominem libere impulsu Sathanae a Deo deficere.

4

Regulam vitae a Deo primitus in observatione legis positi-
tam ; exinde ob infirmitatem carnis Dei beneplacito per
Christi redemptionem in justitiam fidei translatam esse quam
ob caussam, neminem Deum juste incusare, verum potius
et intimis visceribus ipsius misericordiam revereri, admirari
et celebrare debere ; cum possibile homini reddiderit Deus
per gratiam, quod prius homini lapso impossibile fuerit per
uaturam.

5

Nullum esse peccatum originis, verum omne peccatum
esse actuale et voluntarium vid. dictum factum aut con-
cupitum contra legem Dei : ideoque infantes esse sine
peccato.

6

Jesum Christum esse verum Deum et verum hominem
vid. Filio Dei assumente et sibi uniente hominis veram et

puram naturam ex vera anima rationali et vero corpore humans consistentem.

7

Jesum Christum, quod ad carnem attinet, per Spiritum Sanctum in utero virginis Mariae conceptum fuisse, postea natum, circumcisum, baptisatum, tentatum fuisse, etiam ipsum esurivisse, sitivisse, comedisse, bibisse, crevisse tum statura tum cognitione: defatigatum fuisse, dormivisse, denique crucifixum, mortuum, sepultum fuisse, resurrexisse, in caelum ascendisse, ipsique utpote soli Regi, Pontifici et prophetae Ecclesiae omnem tum in caelo tum in tera potestatem commissam esse.

8

Gratiam dei per Christi redemptionem impetratam omnibus sine discrimine paratam et oblatam fore, idque non ficte sed bona fide: partim per creaturas guae invisibilia dei declarant, partim per evangelii predicationem.

9

Homines et Dei gratia per Christi redemptionem posse (Spiritu Sancto per gratiam ipsos preveniente) resipiscere, credere, ad Deum convertere et vitam aeternam adipisci: sicut e contra, posse ipsos Spiritini Sancto resistere, a Deo difecere et in eternum perire.

10

Justificationem hominis coram Dei tribunali (qui est et justitiae et misericordiae thronus) subsistere, partim ex imputatione justitiae Christi per fidem apprehensa, partim ex justitia inherente in ipsis sanctis per operationem spiritus Sancti quae regeneratio sive sanctificatio dicitur: siquidem justus est qui facit justitiam.

11

Fidem bonis operibus vacuam, mortuam esse; veram autem et vivam fidem per bona opera dignosei.

12

Ecclesiam Christi esse coetum fidelium post fidei et

peccatorum confessionem baptisatorum, potestate Christi preditam.

13

Ecclesiam Christi habere potestatem sibi delegatam verbi annuntiandi, sacramenta administrandi, ministros constitueri et abdicandi, denique excommunicandi; ultimam autem provocationem esse ad fratres sive corpus Ecclesiae.

14

Baptismum esse externum symbolum remissionis peccatorum, mortificationis et vivificationis, ideoque ad infantes non pertinere.

15

Coenam Domini esse symbolum externum communionis Christi et fidelium ad invicem per fidem et charitatem.

16

Ministros ecclesiae esse, tum Episcopos quibus facultas dispensandi tum verbum tum sacramenta commissa est, tum Diaconos, viros et viduas, qui res pauperum et fratrū infirmorum curant.

17

Fratres post tertium gradum admonitionis in peccatis sibi cognitis perseverantes excludendos esse e communione sanctorum per excommunicationem.

18

Excommunicatos quod ad civile commercium attinet non esse devitandos.

19

Mortuos (vivis momento mutatis) resurrecturos iisdem corporibus, non substantia sed qualitatibus mutatis.

20

Post resurrectionem omnes sistendos fore ad tribunal Christi judicis, secundum opera judicandos: pios post sententiam absolutionis vita eterna cum Christo in caelis fruituros, impios vero damnatos, in Gehenna cum Diabolo et angelis ejus eternis suppliciis cruciandos.

JOHN SMYTH

APPENDIX E

LETTER OF THOMAS HELWYS AND CHURCH TO THE CONSISTORY OF THE UNITED MENNONITE CHURCH AT AMSTERDAM

(Copied from the Records of aforesaid Church. 1 page fol.
No date. No. 1349.)

Ecclesia Anglicana Ecclesiae Belgiae Amsterdamae.
Gratia vobis et pax a Deo patre nostro et domino Iesu
Christo.

Charissimi frates fidei vinculo, (in eo ad quod pervenimus) oportet nos, ut eadem simul incedamus regula: et hoc profitemur in omnibus erga vos prestare, secundum eam scientiae et gratiae mensuram, quam Deus nobis dedit aut daturus est: idem a vobis expectantes, quum tale judicium de vobis ferendum est Ideirco nostra interesse judicavimus (cum auditua idque a semetipsis, quod quidam, qui erant ex nobis, sed nunc temporis, propter eorum in peccato impenitentiam, quum nos esse Christi ecclesiam et potestatem recipiendi ejiciendique membra habere negent, sancta Christi censura nobis, ejus ecclesiae, concessa; et communione omnium sanctorum juste excluduntur, et nunc conantur seipsos vobis adjungere), vos certiores facere, ut caveatis, ne tales recipiatis, quibus polluamini, cum optime sciatis paululo fermenti totam massam fermentari. Et vos in timore Dei obsecramus, ut vobis ipsis attendatis, ne inconsulto improbos justificetis innocentesque condemnetis, a quo scelere ut vos Deus avertat summis precibus oramus. Sed persuasimus nobis de vobis istis meliora, assidue expectantes, vos operam vestram potius in reformatis contumacibus, quam in ipsis corroborandis in peccatis suis datus, et adhuc vestrum auxilium in nobis superstruendis, non diruendis collocatueros. Et sic sperantes vos in omnibus rebus vestris, verbum Dei regulam vestrae directionis, secundum vestrae fidei professionem, sequuturos: commendamus vos Deo et Sermoni gratiae ipsius, qui potest superstruere, et dare vobis quod haereditatis jure possideatis cum sanctificatis omnibus. Valete.

APPENDIX F

CONFESION OF FAITH OF THE "TRUE ENGLISH CHURCH"
UNDER THOMAS HELWYSS AT AMSTERDAM, IN NINE-
TEEN ARTICLES PRESENTED TO THE WATERLAND-
ERS, WITH THANKS FOR THEIR ALREADY
GIVEN INFORMATION AND RECOMMEND-
ING THEMSELVES FOR THE FUTURE.

(Archives of the Amsterdam Mennonite Congregation,
No. 1350. 3 pages folio).

Synopsis fidei verae Christianae Ecclesiae Anglicanae
Amsterodamiae.

I

Quod tres sunt qui testificantur in caelo, Pater, Sermo et
Spiritus Sanctus, et hi tres sunt unus Deus, per quem
omnia in caelo et terra creantur et preservantur.

2

Quod hic Deus creavit hominem secundum imaginem
suam, qui peccavit et per cuius inobedientiam omnes pecca-
tores constituti sunt ; sed per obedientiam Jesu Christi justi
constituuntur omnes.

3

Quod Deus necessitatem peccandi nemini imponit.

4

Quod nullum sit peccatum per generationem a parentibus
nostris.

5

Quod Deus vult omnes homines servari et ad agnitionem
veritatis venire et non vult mortem morientis.

6

Quod Jesus Christus in plenitudine temporis manifestatus
erat in carne, factus ex muliere, conceptus et natus ex ea,
Spiritus Sanctus inumbrans eam, fructus uteri ejus, semen
Abrahami, Isaaci, Jacobi et Davidis secundum carnem. Et
sic verus homo circumcisus erat, baptisatus, precatus est,

tentatus erat, metuebat, ignarus dici judicii, esuriebat, sitiebat, defatigatus erat, edebat, bibebat, somnum oculis capiebat, statura et cognitione crescebat, crucifixus erat, moriebatur, sepultus resurrexit, in caelum ascendebat, omni potestate in caelo et terra ei traditia existens solus Rex, Sacerdos et Propheta ejus ecclesiae. Et una persona, verus Deus et verus homo.

7

Quod hominis justificatio coram Deo solummodo consistit in Christi obedientia et justicia per fidem apprehensa: fides tamen absque operibus mortua est.

8

Quod homo Dei gratia per Christi redemptionem facultatem habet (Spiritu Sancto in eo operante per predicationem evangelii) resipiscendi, credendi, ad Deum revertendi et ad finem perseverandi, atque etiam est in homine facultas Spiritui Sancto resistendi et a Domino avertendi.

9

Quod Ecclesia sit coetus populi fidelis, baptizatus in nomen Patris, Filii et spiritus, tempore quo confitentur fidem et peccata eorum; potestatem Christi habens verbum predicandi, baptismum et coenam dominicam administrandi, ministros suos eligendi et abdicandi, et membra sua recipiendi et ejiciendi, secundum Christi canones.

10

Quod baptismus sit signum externum remissionis peccatorum, mortificationis et vitae renovationis, et idcirco ad infantes non pertinet.

11

Quod coena dominica sit signum externum spiritualis communionis Christi et fidelium mutuo in fide et charitate.

12

Quod unumquodque membrum corporis oportet se mutuo cognoscere, ut sic prestant omnia charitatis fraternae munera, tam animae quam corporis, mutuo sibi invicem:

et presestim Presbiteros oportet totum gregem cognoscere, in quo eos Spiritus Sanctus constituit Episcopos.

13

Quod Ecclesiae ministri sint aut Episcopi, quibus ab Ecclesia commissa est potestas verbum predicandi, baptismum et coenam dominicam administrandi; aut Diaconi, viri et viduae, qui pro ecclesia fratrum pauperum et infirmorum necessitates sublevant.

14

Quod oportet Ecclesiam (juxta Christi discipulorum et primitivarum ecclesiarum exemplum) unoquoque primo die hebdomadis convenire ad precandum, prophetandum, Deum celebrandum, panem frangendum et prestandum cetera omnia munera spiritualis communionis, quae pertinent ad divinum cultum, membrorum mutuam aedificationem et preservationem verae religionis et pietatis in Ecclesia: et idcirco seponendi sunt ordinarii nostrarum vocationum labores, qui in eo nos impedire possent.

15

Quod fratres in peccato impenitentes, post tertium admonitionis gradum per ecclesiam actum, per excommunicationem ejiciendi sint et ecclesiae communione.

16

Quod excommunicati respectu civilis societatis non sint fugiendi.

17

Quod adiaphora non sint ecclesiae aut alicui membro ecclesiae imponenda, sed Christiana libertas in hujusmodi retinenda est.

18

Quod mortui resurgent (et vivis momento mutatis) eadem corpora quoad substantiam, etsi quoad qualitates diversa.

19

Quod omnes homines post resurrectionem comparere opera coram tribunali Christi dijudicandos secundum opera

eorum, ut pii justificati aeterna vita fruantur et impii condemnati in Gehenna cruciatus aeternos ferant.

Et sic per Dei misericordiam, Christum secundum ejus verbum didicimus, agnoscentes tamen nos ipsos simplices et ignaros, et semper paratos cum omni reverentia et humilitate a Deo instrui per hujus modi instrumenta, quae Dominus noster escitayerit pro nostra in veritate ampliore informatione, et Deo benedicentes pro hujusmodi optimis mediis quae a vobis nobis suppeditata sunt, Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum supplicites invocantes, ut vos et nos per Spiritum suum in omnem dirigat veritatem.

Gratia sit vobis et pax a Deo patre nostro et a domino nostro Jesu Christo.

APPENDIX G

A short confession of faith, no date, in 38 articles, signed by twenty brethren and twenty one sisters of the English, of whom, however, seven brethren and 6 sisters drew afterwards a line through their signature. 10 pages fol, No. 1352 of the archives of the Amsterdam Mennonite Church. In English (Being a translation of the confession of faith of Lubbert Gerrits and Hans de Ries.)

ARTICLE 1. We believe through the power and instruction of the Holy Scriptures, that there is one only God, who is a spirit, eternal, incomprehensible, infinite, almighty, merciful, righteous, perfectly wise, only good, and only fountain of life and all goodness; the Creator of heaven and earth, things visible and invisible.

2. This only God in the Holy Scriptures is manifested revealed in Father, Son and Holy Ghost, being three, and nevertheless but one God.

3. The Father is the original and beginning of all things; who hath begotten his Son from everlasting before all creation; that Son is the everlasting word of the Father, and his wisdom. The Holy Ghost is his virtue, power, and might, proceeding from the Father and the Son. These three are not divided, not separated in essence, nature, property, eternity, power, glory, or excellency.

4. This only God hath created man good, according to his image and likeness, to a good and happy estate, and in him all men to the same blessed end. The first man was fallen into sin and wrath; and was again by God, through a sweet comfortable promise, restored and affirmed to everlasting life, with all those that were guilty through him; so that none of his posterity (by reason of this institution) are guilty, sinful, or born in original sin.

5. Man being created good, and continuing in goodness, had the ability, the spirit of wickedness tempting him, freely to obey, assent, or reject the propounded evil: man being fallen and consisting in evil, had the ability, the T—

himself moving him freely to obey, assent, or reject the propounded good: for as he through free power to the choice of evil, obeyed and affirmed that evil; so did he through free power to the choice of good, obey and reassent that propounded good. This last power or ability remaineth in all his posterity.

6. God hath before all time foreseen and foreknown all things, both good and evil, whether past, present, or to come. Now as he is the only, perfect goodness, and the very fountain of life itself, so is he the only author, original, and maker of such things as are good, holy, pure, and of nature like unto him; but not of sin, or damnable uncleanness. He forbiddeth the evil, he forewarneth to obey evil, and threatened the evil doer: he is the permitter and punisher. But evil men, through free choice of all sin and wickedness, together with the spirit of wickedness which ruleth in them, are the authors, originals, and makers of all sin, and so worthy the punishment.

7. The causes and ground, therefore, of man's destruction and damnation are the man's free choice of darkness or sin and living therein. Destruction, therefore, cometh out of himself, but not from the good Creator. For being perfect goodness and love itself (following the nature of love and perfect goodness), he willeth the health, good, and happiness of his creatures; therefore hath he predestinated that none of them should be condemned, nor ordained, or willed the sinner, or means whereby they should be brought to damnation; yea, much more (seeing he hath no delight in any man's destruction, nor willing that any man perish, but that all men should be saved or blessed) hath he created them all to a happy end in Christ, hath foreseen and ordained in him a medicine of life for all their sins, and hath willed that all people or creatures, through the preaching of the Gospel, should have these tidings published and declared unto them; Now all they that with penitence and

faithful hearts receive and embrace the gracious benefits of God, manifested in Christ, for the reconciliation of the world, they are and continue the elect which God hath ordained before the foundation of the world, to make partakers of his kingdom and glory. But they which despise and contemn this proffered grace of God, which love the darkness more than the light, persevere in impenitence and unbelief, they make themselves unworthy of blessedness, and are rejected, excluded from the end whereto they were created and ordained in Christ, and shall not taste forever of the Supper of the Lord, to which they were invited.

8. The purpose which God, before the foundation of the world, had for the reconciliation of the world (which he saw would fall into wrath and want of grace), he hath in the fulness of time accomplished ; and for this purpose hath sent out of heaven his everlasting word, or son, for the fulfilling of the promise made unto the fathers, and hath caused him to become flesh in the womb of a holy virgin (called Mary) by his word, and power, and working of the Holy Ghost. Not that the essence of God, the eternal word or any part thereof is changed into a visible mortal flesh or man, ceasing to be Spirit, God, or God's essence ; but that he, the everlasting Son of God, continuing that he was before, namely, God or Spirit, became what he was not, that is, flesh or man ; and he is in one person true God and man, born of Mary, being visibly and invisibly, inwardly and outwardly, the true Son of the living God.

9. This Person, God and Man, the Son of the living God, is come into the world to save sinners, or to reconcile the sinful world to God the Father : therefore now acknowledge him to be the only Mediator, King, Priest and Prophet, Lawgiver and Teacher, which God hath promised to send into the world, whom we must trust, believe, and follow.

10. In him is fulfilled, and by him is taken away, an intolerable burden of the Law of Moses, even all the

shadows and figures ; as, namely, the priesthood, temple, altar, sacrifice ; also the kingly office, kingdom, sword, revenge appointed by the law, battle, and whatsoever was a figure of his person or office, so thereof a shadow or representation.

11. And as the true promised Prophet he hath manifested and revealed unto us whatsoever God asketh or requireth of the people of the New Testament ; for as God, by Moses and the other prophets, hath spoken and declared his will to the people of the Old Testament ; so hath he in those last days, by his Prophet, spoken unto us, and revealed unto us the mystery (concealed from the beginning of the world), and hath now manifested to us whatsoever yet remained to be manifested. He hath preached the promised glad tidings, appointed and ordained the sacraments, the offices and ministeries, by God thereto destinat-ed ; and hath showed by doctrine and life, the law of Christians, a rule of their life, the path and way to everlasting life.

12. Moreover, as a High Priest and Mediator of the New Testament, after that he hath accomplished the will of his Father in the aforesaid works, he hath finally given himself obediently (for the reconciliation of the sins of the world) to all outward suffering, and hath offered up himself in death upon the cross unto the Father, for a sweet savour and common oblation.

13. We acknowledge that the obedience of the Son of God, his suffering, dying, bloodshed, bitter passion, death, and only sacrifice upon the cross, is a perfect reconciliation and satisfaction for our sins and the sins of the world ; so that men thereby are reconciled to God, are brought into power, and have a sure hope and certainty to the entrance into everlasting life.

14. Christ, our Prophet and Priest, being also the promised, only spiritual, heavenly King of the New Testament,

hath erected, or built, a spiritual kingdom, and united a company of faithful, spiritual men ; these persons hath he endowed with spiritual, kingly laws, after the nature of the heavenly kingdom, and hath established therein justice, righteousness, and the ministers thereof.

15. Having accomplished and performed here upon the earth, by dying the death, his office of the cross, he was afterwards buried, thereby declaring that he was truly dead ; the third day he rose again, and stood up from the dead, abolishing death, and testifying that he was Lord over death, and that he could not possibly be detained by the hands of death, thereby comfortably assuring all the faithful of their resurrection and standing up from death.

16. Afterwards, forty days spent, he conversed amongst his disciples, and oftentimes showed himself unto them, that there might no doubt be had concerning his resurrection ; after that, being compassed by a cloud, he was carried up into heaven, and entered unto his glory, leading captivity captive, and making a show of his enemies, hath gloriously triumphed over them, and is sat at the right hand of the Majesty of God, and is become a Lord, and Christ, glorified in body, advanced, lifted up, and crowned with praise and glory, and remaineth over Mount Sion, a Priest and King for everlasting.

17. The holy office of this glorified Priest, King, Lord, and Christ, in the heavenly glorious being, is to help, govern and preserve, by his holy Spirit, his holy church and people in the world, through the storm, wind, and troubles of the sea ; for, according to his priestly office, as an overseer or steward of the true tabernacle, is he our Intercessor, Advocate, and Mediator by the Father. He teacheth, comforteth, strengtheneth, and baptizeth us with the Holy Ghost, his heavenly gifts and fiery victims, and keepeth his spiritual supper with the faithful soul making it partaker of the life-giving food and drink of the soul, the

fruit, virtue, and worth of his merits obtained upon the cross; the only and necessary good signified in the sacraments.

18. And according to his kingly office, in his heavenly being he governeth the hearts of the faithful by his Holy Spirit and Word, he taketh them unto his protection, he covereth them under the shadow of his wings, he armeth them with spiritual weapons for the spiritual warfare against all their enemies, namely, the spirit of wickedness, under heaven, and whatsoever, dependeth on them in this earth. He, their most Glorious, Almighty, Heavenly King, standeth by them, delivereth and freeth them from the hands of their enemies, giveth them victory and the winning of the field, and hath prepared for them a crown of righteousness in heaven. And they being the redeemed of the Lord, who dwell in the house of the Lord, upon the Mount Sion, do change their fleshly weapons, namely, swords into shares and their spears into sythes, do lift up no sword neither hath nor consent to fleshly battle.

19. All these spiritual good things and beneficial, which Christ, by his merits, hath obtained for the saving of sinners, we do graciously enjoy through a true, living, working faith. Which faith is an assured understanding and knowledge of the heart, obtained out of the Word of God, concerning God, Christ, and other heavenly things which are necessary for us to know, and to believe to salvation, together with a hearty confidence in the only God, that he as a gracious and heavenly Father, will give and bestow upon us, through Christ, and for his merits, whatsoever is helpful and profitable for body and soul for salvation.

20. Through such a faith we obtain true righteousness, forgiveness, absolution from sin through the bloodshed of Christ, and true righteousness, which through the Christ Jesus, by the co-operation of the Holy Ghost, is plentifully

shed and poured into us, so that we truly are made, of evil men, good ; of fleshly, spiritual ; of covetous, liberal ; of proud, humble ; and through regeneration are made pure in heart, and the children of God.

21. Man being thus justified by faith, liveth and worketh by love (which the Holy Ghost sheddeth into the heart) in all good works, in the laws, precepts, ordinances given them by God through Christ ; he praiseth and blesseth God, by a holy life, for every benefit, especially of the soul ; and so are all such plants of the Lord trees of righteousness, who honor God through good works, and expect a blessed reward.

22. Such faithful righteous people, scattered in several parts of the world, being the true congregations of God, or the church of Christ, whom he saved, and for whom he gave himself, that he might sanctify them, ye whom he hath cleansed by the washing of water in the word of life : of all such is Jesus the Head, the Shepherd, the Leader, the Lord, the King, and Master. Now although among these there may be mingled a company of seeming holy men, or hypocrites ; yet, nevertheless, they are and remain only the righteous, true members of the body of Christ, according to the spirit and the truth, the heirs of the promises, truly saved from the hypocrites and dissemblers.

23. In this holy church hath God ordained the ministers of the Gospel, the doctrines of the holy Word, the use of the holy sacraments, the oversight of the poor, and the ministers of the same offices ; furthermore, the exercise of brotherly admonition and correction, and finally, the separating of the impenitent ; which holy ordinances, contained in the Word of God, are to be administered according to the contents thereof.

24. And like as a body consisteth of divers parts, and every part hath its own proper work, seeing every part is not a hand, eye, or foot ; so it is also in the church of God ;

for although every believer is a member of the body of Christ, yet is not every one therefore a teacher, elder, or deacon, but only such who are orderly appointed to such offices. Therefore, also, the administration of the said offices or duties pertaineth only to those that are ordained thereto, and not to every particular common person.

25. The vocation or election of the said officers is performed by the church, with fasting, and prayer to God ; for God knoweth the heart ; he is amongst the faithful who are gathered together in his name ; and by his Holy Spirit doth so govern the minds and hearts of his people, that he by them bringeth to light and propoundeth whom he knoweth to be profitable to his church.

26. And although the election and vocation to the said offices is performed by the foresaid means, yet, nevertheless the investing into the said service is accomplished by the elders of the church through the laying on of hands.

27. The doctrine which by the foresaid ministers must be proposed to the people, is even the same which Christ brought out of heaven, which he, by word and work, that is, by doctrine and life, hath taught which was preached by the apostles of Christ, by the commandment of Christ and the Spirit, which we find written (so much as is needful for us to salvation) in the Scripture of the New Testament, whereto we apply whatsoever we find in the Canonical book of the Old Testament, which hath affinity and verity, which by doctrine of Christ and his apostles, and consent and agreement, with the government of his Spiritual Kingdom.

28. There are two sacraments appointed by Christ, in his holy church, the administration whereof he hath assigned to the ministry of teaching, namely, the Holy Baptism and the Holy Supper. These are outward visible handlings and tokens, setting before our eyes, on God's side, the inward spiritual handling which God, through Christ, by the

co-operation of the Holy Ghost, setteth forth in the justification in the penitent faithful soul ; and which on our behalf, witnesseth our religion, experience, faith, and obedience, through the obtaining of a good conscience to the service of God.

29. The Holy Baptism is given unto these in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, which hear, believe, and with penitent heart receive the doctrines of the Holy Gospel. For such hath the Lord Jesus commanded to be baptized, and no unspeaking children.

30. The whole dealing in the outward visible baptism of water, setteth before the eyes, witnesseth and signifyeth, the Lord Jesus doth inwardly baptise the repentant, faithful man, in the laver of regeneration and renewing by the Holy Ghost, washing the soul from all pollution and sin, by the virtue and merit of his bloodshed ; and by the power and working of the Holy Ghost, the true, heavenly spiritual, living Water, cleanseth the inward evil of the soul, and maketh it heavenly, spiritual, and living, in true righteousness or goodness. Therefore, the baptism of water leadeth us to Christ, to his holy office in glory and majesty ; and admonisheth us not to hang only upon the outward, but with holy prayer to mount upward, and to beg of Christ the good thing signified.

31. The Holy Supper, according to the institution of Christ, is to be administered to the baptized ; as the Lord Jesus hath commanded that whatsoever he hath appointed should be taught to be observed.

32. The whole dealing in the outward visible supper, setteth before the eye, witnesseth and signifyeth, that Christ's body was broken upon the cross, and his holy blood spilt for the remission of our sins. That the being glorified in his heavenly Being, is the alive-making bread, meat and drink of our souls, it setteth before our eyes Christ's office and ministry in glory and majesty, by holding

his spiritual supper, which the believing soul, feeding and the soul with spiritual food : it teacheth us by the outward handling to mount upwards with the heart holy prayer, to beg at Christ's hands the true signified food ; and it admonisheth us of thankfulness to God, and of verity and love one with another.

33. The church discipline, or external censures, is also an outward handling among the believers, whereby the impenitent sinner, after Christian admonition and reproof, is severed, by reason of his sins, from the communion of the saints for his future good ; and the wrath of God is denounced against him until the time of his contrition and reformation ; and there is also, by this outward separation of the church, manifested what God before had judged and fore-handled, concerning this secret sinner, by reason of his sin. Therefore, first before the Lord, the prejudging and predetermining of the matter must pass in respect of the sinner and the after-judging and handling by the church. Therefore the church must carefully regard that none in the church be condemned with it, and be condemned in the Word of God.

34. The person separated from the church may not at all be admitted (so long as he proceedeth in sin) to the use of the holy supper or any other handling, but he must be avoided therein, as also in all other things betokening the communion of saints or brotherhood. And as the rebellious life, conversation, or daily company of the godless and perverse, or anything with them, is dangerous and hurtful, and oftentimes promoteth scandal and slander to the godly, so must they withdraw themselves from the same rebels, avoiding them in all works and ends whereby their pure souls might be polluttred and defiled : yet so that always the Word of God take place, and that nothing take place or be performed that is contrary to love, mercy, Christian discretion, promise, or any other like matter.

35. Worldly authority or magistracy is a necessary ordinance of God, appointed and established for the preservation of the common estate, and of a good, natural, politic life, for the reward of the good and the punishing of the evil: we acknowledge ourselves obnoxious, and bound by the Word of God to fear, honour, and show obedience to the magistrates in all causes not contrary to the Word of the Lord. We are obliged to pray God Almighty for them, and to thank the Lord for good reasonable magistrates, and to yield unto them, without murmuring, beseeching tribute, toll and tax. This office of the worldly authority the Lord Jesus hath not ordained in his spiritual kingdom, the church of the New Testament, nor adjoined to the offices of his church. Neither hath he called his disciples or followers to be worldly kings, princes, potentates, or magistrates; neither hath he burdened or charged them to assume such offices, or to govern the world in such a worldly manner; much less hath he given a law to the members of his church is agreeable to such office or government. Yea, rather they are called of him (whom they are commanded to obey by a voice heard from heaven) to the following of his unarmed and unweaponed life, and of his cross-bearing footsteps. In whom approved nothing less than a worldly government, power, and sword. This then considered (as also further, that upon the office of the worldly authority many other things depend, as wars . . . to hurt his enemies in body or goods . . . with evilly or not at all will fit or consort with the Christ, and the crucified life of the Christians), so hold we that it beseemeth not Christians to administer these offices; therefore we avoid such offices and administrations, notwithstanding by no means thereby willing to despise or condemn reasonable discreet magistrates, nor to place him in less estimation than he is described by the Holy Ghost, of Paul.

36. Christ, the King and Lawgiver of the New Testa-

ment, hath prohibited Christians the swearing of oaths; therefore it is not permitted that the faithful of the New Testament should swear at all.

37. The married state, or matrimony, hold we for an ordinance of God, which, according to the first institution, shall be observed. Every man shall have his one only wife, and every woman shall have her one only husband; those may not be separated but for adultery. We permit none of our Communion to marry godless, unbelieving, fleshly persons out of the church; but we censure such (as other sinners) according to the disposition and desert of the cause.

38. Lastly, we believe and teach the resurrection of the dead, both of the just and the unjust as Paul (1 Cor. XV) soundly teacheth and witnesseth: The soul shall be united to the body, every one shall be presented before the judgment seat of Christ Jesus, to receive in his own body wages according to his works. And the righteous, whosoever hath lived holily, and through faith brought forth the works of love and mercy, shall enter into everlasting life with Christ Jesus, the Bridegroom of the Christian host. But the unsanctified, which have not known God, and have not obeyed the Gospel of Jesus Christ, shall go into everlasting fire. The Almighty, gracious, merciful God, preserve us from the punishment of the ungodly, and grant us grace and gifts helpful to a holy life, saving death, and joyful resurrection with all the righteous. Amen.

We subscribe to the truth of these Articles, desiring further information.

APPENDIX H

CONFESSTION OF FAITH OF JOHN SMYTH AND HIS PEOPLE IN 102 ARTICLES; THE ORIGINAL OF WHICH WAS FOUND IN 1871 IN YORK MINSTER

[Translated from the copy in the Archives of the Amsterdam Mennonite Church, 16 pages folio, No. 1365.]

I

We believe that there is a God (Job. XI.16) against all Epicures and Atheists, who say in the heart or utter with the mouth, that there is no God. (Pslm. XIV. I; Job. XXII, 13).

II

That this God is one in number (1 Cor. VIII, 6) against the Pagans or any other who hold a pleurality of gods.

III

That God is incomprehensible and ineffable, *i.e.*, that the essence or substance of God cannot be comprehended in the mind, nor uttered by the words of men and angels.

IV

That the creatures and Holy Scriptures do not intend to teach us what God is in substance or essence, but what he is in effect and property. (Rom. I. 19-21).

V

That the terms Father, Son and Holy Spirit do not teach us God's essence or substance, but only his hinder parts: that which may be known of God. (Rom. I).

VI

That God may be known by his titles, properties, effects, imprinted and expressed in the creatures, and scriptures. (John XVII. 3).

VII

That to understand and conceive of God in the mind is not the saving knowledge of God; but to be like to God in

his effects and properties,—to be made conformable to his divine and heavenly attributes; that is the true saving knowledge of God, whereunto we ought to give all diligence. (2 Cor. III. 18; Matt. V. 49; 2 Peter I. 4).

VIII

That this God manifested in Father, Son and Holy Ghost (Matt. III. 16) is most merciful, most mighty, most holy, most just, most wise, most true, most glorious, eternal and infinite. (Pslm. XC 2; C II. 27).

IX

That God, before the foundation of the world, did foresee and determine the issue and event of all his works (Acts XV. 18) and that actually in time he works all things by his providence, according to the good pleasure of his will (Eph. I. 11), and therefore we abhor the opinion of them, who avouch that all things happen by fortune or chance. (Acts IV. 27, 28; Matt. X. 29, 30).

X

That God is not the author or worker of sin (Pslm. V. 4: James I 13) but that he only did foresee and determine what evil the free will of angels and men would do; but he gave no influence, instinct, motion or inclination to the least sin.

XI

That God in the beginning created the world, viz: the heavens, and the earth and all things that are therein (Gen. I; Acts XVII, 24) so that the things that are seen, were not things which did appear (Heb. XI. 3).

XII

That God created man to blessedness, according to his image in a state of innocency, free without corruption of sin (Gen. I. 27; II 25). He created them male and female, to wit one man and one woman (Gen. I. 27). He framed man of the dust of the earth, and breathed into him the breath of life, so the man was a living soul (Gen. II.

21, 22) and God blessed them, and commanded them to increase and multiply, and to fill the earth, and to rule over it and all creatures therein. (Gen. I. 28).

XIII

That, therefore, marriage be honourable amongst all men, and the bed be undefiled, viz : between one man and one woman (Heb. XIII. 4 ; 1 Cor. VII. 2), but whoremongers and adulterers God will judge.

XIV

That God created man with freedom of will, so that he had ability to choose the good, and eshew the evil, or to choose the evil and refuse the good, and this freedom of will was a natural faculty or power, created by God in the soul of man. (Gen. II. 16 ; XVII. 3, XVII. 10 ; Gen. I. 17 ; VII. 31).

XV

That Adam sinning was not moved or inclined thereto by God, or by any decree of God, but that he fell down from innocency, and died the death alone, by the temptation of Satan, his free will assenting thereunto freely. (Gen. III. 6).

XVI

That the same day that Adam sinned he died the death (Rom. VI. 23) and this is that the apostle says, dead in trespasses and sins (Eph. II), which is loss of innocency, of the peace of conscience and comfortable presence of God. (Gen. III. 7).

XVII

That Adam being fallen did not lose any natural power or faculty, which God created in his soul, for the work of satan, who is sin, cannot abolish God's works or creatures, and therefore being fallen he still retained freedom of will. (Gen. III, 23, 24).

XVIII

That original sin is an idle term, and that there is no such thing as men intend by the word (Jerem. XVIII. 20) ;

because God threatened death only to Adam (Gen. II. 17) not to his posterity, and because God created the soul (Heb. XII. 9.)

XIX

That if original sin might have passed from Adam to posterity, Christ's death, which was effectual before Cain and Abel's birth, he being the lamb slain from the beginning of the world, stopped the issue and passage thereof. (Rev. XIII. 8.)

XX

That infants are conceived and born in innocency, without sin, and that so dying are undoubtedly saved, and that this is to be understood of all infants under heaven (Gen. V. 12; Gen. I. 17; 1 Cor. XV. 19) for where there is no law there is no transgression, sin is not imputed while there is no law, but the law was not given to infants, but to them who could understand. (Rom. V. 13; Matt. XIII. 9; Matt. VIII. 3.)

XXI

That all actual sinners bear the image of the first Adam, in his innocency, fall and restitution in the offer of grace (1 Cor. XV. 49) and so pass under this threefold estate.

XXII

That Adam being fallen God did not hate him, but loved him still, and sought his good (Gen. III. 8; XV. 1), neither does he hate any man that falleth with Adam; but that he loves mankind, and from his love sent his only begotten son into the world, to save that which was lost, and to seek the sheep that went astray. (John III. 16; Matt. XVIII. 11-14; Luke 15.)

XXIII

That God never forsakes the creature till there is no remedy, neither does he cast away his innocent creature from all eternity; but casts away men irrecoverable in sin (Job. V. 4; Ezek. XVIII 23-32; XXXIII, 6.)

XXIV

That as there is in all the creatures a natural inclination to their young ones to do them good, so there is in the Lord an inclination towards men to promote their happiness ; for every spark of goodness in the creature is infinitely good in God. (Rom. I. 20 ; Pslm. XIX. 4 ; Rom. X. 18).

XXV

That God before the foundation of the world has determined the way of life and salvation to consist in Christ and that he has foreseen who would follow it (Eph. I. 4, V. 2 ; Tim. I. 9), and also who would follow the way of infidelity and impenitency. (Job. I. 8.)

XXVI

That as no man begets his child to the gallows, nor no potter makes a pot to break it, so God does not create or predestinate any man to destruction. (Ezek. XXXIII, 17 ; Gen. I. 17 ; 1 Cor. XV. 49 ; Gen. V. 3).

XXVII

That as God created all men according to his image, so has he redeemed all that fall by actual sin, to the same end ; and that God in his redemption has not swerved from his mercy, which he manifested in his creation. (John I. 3-16 ; 2 Cor. V. 19 ; 1 Tim II. 4, 5, 6.)

XXVIII

That Jesus Christ is he who in the beginning did lay the foundation of the heavens and earth which shall perish (Heb. I. 10 ; Pslm. CII. 28). He is the Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, the first and the last (Rev. XXII. 13) He is the brightness of the glory and the expressed image of the substance of his Father, upholding all things by the word of his power. (Heb. I. 3). He is the wisdom of God, which was begotten from everlasting before all creatures (Prov. VIII. 20 ; Micah V. 4 ; Luke XI. 49). He was in the form of God, and thought it no robbery to be equal with God ; yet he took to him the shape of a ser-

vant, the word became flesh (John I. 4 ; Luke I. 34), wonderfully by the power of God in the womb of the Virgin Mary ; he was of the seed of David according to the flesh, God having prepared him a body. (Phil. II. 7 ; Rom. I. 3 ; Heb. X. 5)

XXIX

That Jesus Christ, after his baptism by a voice out of heaven from the Father, and by the anointing of the Holy Ghost, which appeared upon his head in the form of a dove, is appointed the prophet of the church, whom all men must hear (Matt. XVII ; Heb. I. 2) ; and that both by his doctrine and life, which he led here in the earth, by all his doings and sufferings, he has declared and published as the only prophet and lawgiver of his church, the way of peace and life, the glad tidings of the gospel. (Acts III. 22, 23.)

XXX

That Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners, and that God in his love to his enemies did send him (John III. 16) that Christ died for his enemies (Rom. V. 10) ; that he bought them that deny him (2 Peter II. 1) thereby teaching us to love our enemies. (Matt. V. 44, 45).

XXXI

That Christ was delivered to death for our sins (Rom. IV. 25) and that by his death we have the remission of our sins (Eph. I. 7), and that he made himself of no reputation, humbled himself, and became obedient into death, even the death of the cross (Phil. II. 8) redeeming us from our vain conversation, not with silver or gold, but with the precious blood of himself, as of a lamb without spot and undefiled (I Pet. I. 18-19); for he cancelled the hand-writing of ordinances, which was against us (Eph. II. 15 ; Col. II. 14 ; Deut. XXXI. 26), and spoiled principalities and powers, made a show of them openly, and triumphed over them on the cross (Col. II. 15). by death he destroyed him who had the power of death,—that is the devil. (Heb. II. 14).

XXXII

That the enemies of our salvation, which Christ vanquished are the gates of hell, the power of darkness, namely: Satan, sin, death, the grave, the curse or condemnation, wicked men and persecutors (Eph. VI. 12; 1 Cor. XV. 26; 1 Cor. V. 4, 5-7; Rev. XX. 10-14, 15;) which enemies we must overcome no otherwise than Christ has done. (John XXXI. 12; 1 Pet. II. 21; Rev. XIV. 4).

XXXIII

That although the sacrifice of Chirst's body and blood offered up unto God his Father upon the cross; be a sacrifice of a sweet smelling Savour, and God in him is well pleased, yet it does not reconcile God unto us, who did never hate us, nor was our enemy, but reconciles us unto God and slayes the enemy and hatred, which is in us against God (2 Cor. V. 19; Eph. II. 14-17; Rom. I. 30).

XXXIV

That the efficacy of Christ's death is only derived to them, who do mortify their sins which are grafted with him to the similitude of his death (Rom. VI. 3-6), which are circumcised with circumcision made without hands, by putting off the sinful body of the flesh, through the circumcision which Christ works who is the minister of the circumcision for the truth of God, to confirm the promises made to the Father. (Rom. XV; Deut. XXX. 6).

XXXV

That there are three which bear witness in the earth; the spirit, water and blood, and these three are one in testimony, witnessing that Christ truly died (John V. 8) for he gave up the ghost (John XIX. 30), and out of his side pierced with a spear came water and blood, the cover of the heart being pierced, where there is water contained. (John XIX. 36-38).

XXXVI

That every mortified person has this witness in himself (1 John V. 10), for the spirit, blood and water of sin is gone, that is the life of sin with the nourishment and cherishment thereof. (1 Pet. IV. 1; Rom. VI. 7; 1 John III. 9).

XXXVII

That Christ Jesus being truly dead was also buried (John XIX. 39-42), and that he lay in the grave the whole sabbath of the Jews; but in the grave he saw no corruption (Pslm XVI. 10; Acts II. 31).

XXXVIII

That all mortified persons are also buried with Christ by the baptism, which is into his death (Rom. VI. 4; Col. II. 12), keeping their sabbath with Christ in the grave, that is, resting from their own works as God did from his (Heb. IV. 10), waiting there in hope for a resurrection (Pslm XVI. 9).

XXXIX

That Christ Jesus early in the morning, the first day of the week, rose again after his death and burial (Matt. XX. 6) for our justification (Rom. VI), being mighty declared to be the son of God, by the spirit of sanctification, in the resurrection from the dead. (Rom. I. 4).

XL

That these who are gratified with Christ to the similitude of his death and burial shall also be to the similitude of his resurrection (Rom. VI. 4, 5); for he does quicken or give life unto them, together with himself (Col. II. 13; Eph. II. 5, 6;) for that is their salvation, and it is by grace. (Eph. II. 5; 1 John V. 11-15; Tit. III. 5-7.)

XLI

That this quickening or reviving of Christ, this laver of regeneration, this renewing of the Holy Ghost is our justification and salvation (Tit. III. 3-7). This is the pure river

of water of life, clear as crystal, which proceeds out of the throne of God, and of the Lamb (Rev. XXII. 1) which also flows out of the belly of him who believes in Christ (John VII. 38); this is the precious promise whereby we are made partakers of the divine nature, by flying the corruptions that are in the world through lust (2 Peter I. 4) this is the fruit of the tree of life which is in the midst of the paradise of God; this is the white stone wherein there is a name written, which no man knows, save he that receives it. This is the morning star, this is the new name, the name of God, the name of the city of God; the new Jerusalem which descends from God out of heaven; this is the hidden manna, that white clothing, eye-salve and gold, and that heavenly supper which Christ promises to them who overcame. (Rev. II. 7, 17, 28; Rev. III. 5-12; XVIII. 20).

XLII

That there are three who bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word and the Holy Spirit, and that these three are one in testimony, witnessing the resurrection of Christ. The Father says: thou art my son, this day have I begotten thee (Acts XIII. 33-35). The Son testifies of his own resurrection being forty days with his diciples (Acts I. 3). The Holy Ghost testifies the same whom Christ sent to his diciples upon the day of Penticost (Acts II).

XLIII

That every person that is regenerate and risen again with Christ has these three aforesaid witnesses in himself (1 John V. 20); for Christ does dwell in his heart by faith (Eph. III. 17.) and the Father dwells with the Son (John XIV. 2); and the Holy Ghost likewise (1 Cor. X. 3); and that the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost is with them. (2 Cor. XIII 13).

XLIV

That Christ having forty days after his resurrection conversed with his disciples (Acts I. 18) ascended locally into the heavens which must contain him unto the time that all things be restored. (Acts III. 21).

XLV

That they who are risen with Christ, ascend up spiritually with him, seeking those things which are above, where Christ sits at the right hand of God, and that they set their affection on heavenly things and not on earthly things. (Col. III. 1. 2.)

XLVI

That Christ now being received into heaven sits at the right hand of God. (Mark XVI. 9), having led captivity captive, and given gifts unto men (Eph. IV. 8); that God has now highly exalted him, and given him a name above every name; that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, in earth and under the earth, and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father (Phil. II 29); that he has obtained all power both in heaven and in earth (Matt. XXVIII. 18), and he has made all things subject under his feet, and has appointed him over all things to be the head of the church, that is his body, the fulness of him that fills all in all things. (Eph. I. 22, 23.)

XLVII

That the regenerate do sit together with Christ Jesus in heavenly places (Eph. II. 6), that they sit with him in his throne (Rev. III. 21;) that they have power over nations, and rule them with a rod of iron, and as a potter's vessel they are broken to pieces (Rev. II. 6-27), and that sitting on twelve thrones, they do judge the twelve tribes of Israel (Matt. XIX. 28), which spiritually is to put all their enemies in subjection, under their feet, so that the evil one

does not touch them (1 John V. 18), nor the gates of hell prevail against them, (Matt. XVI), and that they are become pillars in the house of God, and go no more out. (Rev. III. 12).

XLVIII

That Christ Jesus being exalted at the right hand of God the Father, far above all principalities and powers, might, and domination, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but in the world to come (Eph. I. 21) has received of his Father the promise of the Holy Ghost, which he also shed forth upon his disciples on the day of Pentecost. (Acts II. 23)

XLIX

That Christ Jesus, in his resurrection, ascension and exaltation, is more and rather Lord and Christ, Saviour, anointed, and King, than in his humiliation, sufferings and death (Acts II. 36; Phil. II. 7); for the end is more excellent than the means, and his sufferings were the way by which he entered into his glory (Luke XXIV. 26), and so by consequent the efficacy of his resurrection in the new creature, is more noble and excellent than the efficacy of his death in the mortification and remission of sins.

L

That the knowledge of Christ according to the flesh is of small profit (2 Cor. V. 16, 17), and the knowledge of Christ's genealogy and history is no other but that which the Devil has as well if not better than any man living; but the knowledge of Christ according to the spirit is effectual to salvation, which is spiritually to be grafted to the similitude of Christ's birth, life, miracles, doings, sufferings, death, burial, resurrection, ascension, and exaltation. (Rom. VI. 3-6).

LI

That Christ Jesus, according to the flesh and history in his doings and suffering is a great mystery, and divine

sacrament of himself, and of his ministry in the spirit, and those spiritual things which he works in those who are to be heirs of salvation (Rom. VI. 3, 6, 7 ; Eph. II. 5, 6); and that spiritually he performs all those miracles in the regenerate which he wrought in his flesh ; he heals their leprosy, bloody issue, blindness, dumbness, deafness, lameness, palsy, fever ; he casts out the devils and unclean spirits ; he raises the dead, rebukes the wind and the sea, and it is calm ; he feeds thousands with the barley loaves and fishes. (Matt. VIII. 16, 17 ; Isiah LIII. 4 ; John VI. 27).

LII

That Christ (in that manner) is become a Mediator of the new Covenant, namely, priest and prophet into his church, and that the regenerated are become also through him spiritual kings and prophets. (Rev. I. 6 ; 1 John II. 20).

LIII

That the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son (John XIV. 26 ; XVI. 7); that he is the eternal spirit, whereby Christ offered himself without spot to God (Heb. IX. 14); that he is that other comforter who Christ asks, obtains and sends from the Father (John XIV. 16) which dwells in the regenerate (1 Cor. III. 16), which teaches them all things, and that they have no need that any man teach them, as the same anointing teaches all things. (1 John II, 20-27).

LIV

That although there be divers gifts of the spirit yet there is but one spirit, which distributes to every one as he will (1 Cor. XII. 4-11 ; Eph. IV. 4); that the outward gifts of the spirit which the Holy Ghost pours forth upon the day of Pentecost upon the disciples, in tongues and prophecy, and gifts, and healing, and miracles, which is called the Baptism of the Holy Ghost (Acts I. 5), were only a figure of and a handleading to better things, even the most proper

gifts of the spirit of sanctification, which is the new creature, which is the one baptism (Eph. IV. 4; Acts II. 23-28; Luke X. 17).

LV

That John the Baptist and Christ are two persons, their ministry are two ministries several, and their baptisms are two baptisms, distinct the one from the other (John I. 20; Acts XIII. 25; Acts I. 4, 5; Matt. III. 2).

LVI

That John taught the baptism of repentance for the remission of sins, baptising with water to amendment of life (Matt. III. 11) thus preparing a way for Christ and his baptism (Luke III. 3) by bringing men to repentance and faith in the Messias, whom he pointed out with the finger, saying; behold the Lamb of God that takes away the sins of the world. (John I. 29-31; Acts XIX. 4).

LVII

That Christ is stronger, and has a more excellent office and ministry than John (Matt. III. 11), that he baptises with the Holy Ghost and fire, that he comes and walks in the way which John has prepared and that the new creature follows repentance. (Luke III. 7).

LVIII

That repentance and faith in the Messias are the conditions to be performed on our behalf, for the obtaining of the promises of God (Acts II. 38; John I. 12), that the circumcision of the heart, mortification and the promise of the spirit, that is, the new creature, are the promises which are made to the aforesaid conditions (Deut. XXX. 6; Acts II. 38; Gal. III. 14; 2 Peter I. 4, 5), which promises are all yea and amen in Christ Jesus (2 Cor. I. 20) and that in the regenate (Gal. III. 16).

LIX

That repentance and faith are wrought in the hearts of men by the preaching of the word, outwardly in the Scrip-

tures, and creatures, the grace of God preventing us by the motions and instinct of the spirit, which a man has power to receive or reject. (Matt. XXIII. 27; Acts VI. 10; Rom. X. 14, 15).

LX

That our justification before God consists not in the performance of the conditions which God requires of us, but in the partaking of the promises, the possessing of Christ, remission of sins, and the new creature.

LXI

That God the Father, of his own good will, does beget us by the word of truth (James I 18), which is immortal seed (1 Peter I. 23), not the doctrine of repentance and faith which may be lost (Luke VIII. 17); and that God the Father, in our regeneration, neither needs nor uses the help of any creature, but that of the Father, the Word and the Holy Ghost, immediately works that work in the soul, where the free will of men can do nothing (John I. 13).

LXII

That those as have not attained the new creature, have need of the scriptures, creatures and ordinances of the church, to instruct them, to comfort them, to stir them up the better to perform the condition of repentance to the remission of sins. (2 Peter I. 19; 1 Cor. II. 26; Eph. IV, 12, 13).

LXIII

That the new creature which is begotten of God, needs not the outward scriptures, creatures or ordinances of the church, to support or help them. (1 Cor. XIII. 10-12; 1 John II. 17; 1 Cor. I 15, 16; Rev. XXI. 23) seeing he has three witnesses in himself, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost, which are better than all Scriptures, or creatures whatsoever.

LXIV

That as Christ who was above the law notwithstanding was made under the law, for our cause, so the regenerate in

love to others, can and will do no other than use the outward things of the church, for the gaining and supporting of others; and so the outward church and ordinances are always necessary for all sorts of persons whatsoever (Matt. III. 15; XXVIII. 19, 20; 1 Cor. VIII. 9).

LXV

That the new creature although he be above the law and scriptures, yet he can do nothing against the law or scriptures, but rather all his doings shall serve to the confirming and establishing of the law (Rom. III. 31). Therefore he can neither lie nor steal, nor commit adultery, nor kill, nor hate any man, or do any other fleshly action, and therefore all fleshly libertinism is contrary to regeneration, detestable, and damnable. (Rom. VI, 15, 16, 18; 2 Pet. II. 18, 19; John VIII, 34; 1 John V. 18)

LXVI

That the visible church is a mystical figure outwardly of the true spiritual visible church, which consists of the spirits of just and perfect men only, that is of the regenerate. (Rev. I. 20; XXI. 2.)

LXVII

That the outward church visible consists of penitent and believing men, as much as men can judge thereof, who bring forth fruits worthy amendment of life (1 Tim. VII. 3-5; 2 Tim III. 5-10; Acts XIX. 4); although hypocrites and feigners are often hidden among the penitent.

LXVIII

That repentance is the change of the mind from evil to that which is good (Matt. III. 2), a sorrow for sin committed, with a humble heart for the same; and a resolution to amend for the time to come, with an unfeigned endeavour therein. (2 Cor. VII. 8, 11; Jer. XXXI. 18, 19.)

LXIX

That when we have done all that we can we are unprofitable servants, and all our righteousness is a stained cloth

(Luke XVII. 10), and that we can only suppress and lop off the branches of sins, but the root of sin we cannot pluck up out of our hearts (Jer. IV. 4; Deut. XXX. 6, 7.)

LXX

That faith is a knowledge in the mind of the doctrine of the law and gospel contained in the prophetical and apostolical scriptures of the Old and new testament, accompanying repentance with an assurance that God, through Christ, will perform unto his promise of remission of sins, and mortification, upon the condition of our unfeigned repentance, and amendment of life (Acts II. 38, 39; Heb. II. 1; Matt. I. 15)

LXXI

That all penitent and faithful Christians are brethren in the communion of the outward church, wheresoever they live, by what name soever they are known, be they Roman Catholics, Lutherans, Zwinglians, Calvinists, Brownists, Anabaptists, or any other pious Christians, who in truth and zeal follow repentance and faith, though compassed with never so many ignorances and infirmities, and we salute them all with a holy kiss, being heartly grieved that we who follow after one faith, and one spirit, one Lord, and one God, one body, and one baptism, should be rent into so many sects and schisms, and that only for matters of no moment.

LXXII

That the outward baptism of water is to be administered only upon such penitent and faithful persons as are (aforesaid) and not upon innocent infants, or wicked persons. (Matt. III. 23; XXVIII. 19, 20; John IV. 1)

LXXIII

That in Baptism to the penitent person and believer there is presented, and figured, the spiritual baptism of Christ, that is, the baptism of the Holy Ghost and fire, the baptism

into the death and resurrection of Christ, even the promise of the spirit, which he shall assuredly be made partaker of, if he continue to the end.

LXXIV

That in the outward supper which only baptized persons must partake, there is presented and figured before the eyes of the penitent and faithful, that spiritual supper, which Christ makes of his flesh and blood; which is crucified and shed for the remission of sins, as the bread is broken and the wine poured forth, and which is eaten and drunken, as is the bread and wine bodily, only by those who are flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bone, in the communion of the same spirit. (1 Cor. XII, 13; Aps III. 20; 1 Cor. XXI. 23, 26; John VI. 53, 58.)

LXXV

That the outward baptism and supper do not confer and convey grace and regeneration to the participants or communicants (see Art. 61), but as the word preached they serve only to support and stir up the repentance and faith of the communicants till Christ comes, till the day dawns, and the day-star arises in their hearts. (1 Cor. XI. 26; 2 Peter I. 9; 1 Cor. XV. 8)

LXXVI

That the sacraments have the same use that the word has; that they are a visible word, and that they teach the eye of them that understand as the word teaches the ears of them who have ears to hear (Pro. XX. 11), and that therefore, they pertain no more to infants than the word does.

LXXVII

That the preaching of the word and ministry of the sacraments, represents the ministry of Christ in the spirit, which teaches, baptises and feeds the regenarate by the Holy Spirit inwardly and-invisibly (See Art. 41).

LXXVIII

That Christ has set in his outward church two sorts of ministers: viz., some who are called pastors, teachers or elders, who administer in the word and sacraments, and others who are called deacons, men and women, whose ministry is to serve tables and wash the saints' feet. (Acts. VI. 2, 4; Phil. I. 1; 1 Tim. III. 2, 8).

LXXIX

That the separating of the impenitent from the outward communion of the Church is a figure of the eternal reprobation and reprobation of them that persist impenitent in sin. (Aps. XXI. 27; XXII. 14, 15; Matt. XVI. 16, 18; Matt. XVIII. 18; John XX. 23; Apo. III. 12).

LXXX

That none are to be separated from the outward communion of the Church but such as forsake repentance, who deny the power of godliness (2 Tim. III. 5, 18), and that none are to be rejected for ignorance or errors, or infirmities as long as they retain repentance and faith in Christ (Rom. XIV. 1; Thess. V. 14; Rom. XVI. 17, 18), but they are to be instructed with meekness, and the strong are to bear the infirmities of the weak, and that we are to support one another through love.

LXXXI

That a man may speak a word against the Son and be pardoned, that is, a man may err in knowledge of Christ's history and in matters of the outward church, and be forgiven, doing it in an ignorant zeal; but he who speaks a word against the Holy Ghost, that is, after illumination forsakes repentance and faith in Christ, persecuting them, trampling under foot the blood of the covenant, returning with the dog to the vomit, that such shall never be pardoned neither in this world, nor in the world to come. (Matt. XII. 31, 32; Heb. VI. 4).

LXXXII

That persons separated from the communion of the church are to be accounted as heathens and publicans (Matt. XVIII. 17) and that they are so far to be shunned as they may pollute, notwithstanding being ready to instruct them, and to relieve them in their wants, seeking by all lawful means to win them, considering that excommunication is only for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord (1 Cor. V. 5, 11; Matt. XIV. 19; Luke XV. 12).

LXXXIII

That there is no succession in the outward church but that all the succession is from heaven, and that the new creature only has the thing signified, whereof the outward church and ordinances are shadows (Col. I. 16, 17), and therefore he alone has power and knows right, how to administer in the outward church, for the benefit of others (John VI. 45), yet God is not the God of confusion but of order, and therefore we are in the outward church to draw as near the first institution as may be, in all things, therefore it is not lawful for every brother to administer the word and sacraments. (Eph. IV. 11, 12; 1 Cor. XII, 4, 5, 6, 28, 29).

LXXXIV

That Christ has set in his outward church the vocation of master and servant, parents and children, husband and wife (Eph. V. 22, 23; VI. 1, 4, 5, 9, and has commanded every soul to be subject to the higher power, not because of wrath only, but for conscience sake, that we are to give them their duty, as tribute, and custom, honour and fear (Rom. XIII. 1, 2, 3, 7), not speaking evil of them that are in authority (Jud. 8) but praying and giving thanks for them (1 Tim. II. 1, 2, 3) for that it is acceptable in the sight of God our Saviour.

LXXXV

That the office of the magistrate is a disposition or permissive ordinance of God (Rom. XIII. 1) for the good of mankind (1 Pet, II. 13; 1 Sam. VIII. 5, 22), that one man like the brute beasts devours not another, and that justice and civility may be preserved among men ; and that a magistrate may so please God in his calling in doing that which is righteous and just in the eyes of the Lord, that he may bring an outward blessing upon himself, his posterity and subjects (2 Kings X. 30).

LXXXVI

That the magistrate is not by virtue of his office to meddle with religion, or matters of conscience, to force and compel men to this or that form of religion or doctrine, but to leave Christian religion free to every man's conscience, and to handle only civil transgressions (Rom. XIII. 3, 4), injuries and wrongs of man against man, in murder, adultery, theft, etc. for Christ only is the King and Lawgiver of the church and conscience. (James IV. 12).

LXXXVII

That if the magistrate will follow Christ and his disciple, he must deny himself, take up his cross and follow Christ ; he must love his enemies and not kill, pray for them and not hate them, feed and comfort them, but not let them die from hunger ; he must visit them in prison but not imprison them, not banish them, nor dismember them and spoil their good. He must suffer persecution with Christ, be slandered, reviled, blasphemed, scourged, buffed, spit upon, imprisoned, and killed with Christ ; and that by the authority of the magistrate, which things he cannot possible do, and retain the revenge of the sword.

LXXXVIII

That the diciples of Christ, the members of the outward church are to judge all their cause of differences among themselves, and they are not to go to law before the magis-

trates (1 Cor. VI. 17), and that all their differences must be ended by yea and nay, without an oath (Matt. V. 33; James V. 12).

LXXXIX

That the diciples of Christ, the members of the outward church, may not marry any of the profane or wicked, godless people of the world, but that everyone is to marry in the Lord (1 Cor. 39, 40), every man one only wife, and every woman one only husband. (1 Cor. VII. 2; Acts XIII).

XC

That parents are bound to bring up their children in instruction and information of the Lord (Eph. VI. 4), and that they are to provide for their family, otherwise they deny the faith, and are worse than infidels (Tim. V. 8).

XCI

That notwithstanding of the Lord shall give any man special calling, as Simon, and Andrew, James and John, then they must leave all, father, ship, nets, wife, children, yea, and life also to follow Christ. (Luke X. 4-26; Mark IV. 18.

XCII

That in the necessities of the church, and poor brethren, all things are to be common (Acts IV. 32), yea and that one church is to administer to another in time of need. (Gal. II, 10; Acts XI. 30; 2 Cor. VIII. 29).

XCIII

That all the bodies of all men who are dead, shall by the power of Christ, be raised up, out of his own proper seed, as corn out of the seed rotting in the earth.

XCIV

That these who live in the last day shall not die, but shall be changed in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trumpet (1 Cor. XV. 52), for the trump shall

blow, and the dead shall be raised up incorruptible, and we shall be changed, not in substance but in qualities, for the bodies shall rise in honour, in power, in incorruption, and spiritual, being sown in dishonour, in weakness, in corruption, and natural. (I Cor. XV. 42, 44).

XCV

That the bodies being raised up, shall be joined to the souls, whereto formerly they were united, which till that time were preserved in the hands of the Lord. (Apo. VI. 9; Job XIX. 25, 27.)

XCVI

That it is appointed to all men that they shall once die, and then comes the judgment (Heb. IX. 27), and that the change of them who live in the earth at the last day, shall be as it were a death unto them. (1 Cor. XV. 12; 1 Thess. IV. 15, 17.)

XCVII

That there shall be a general and universal day of judgment when everyone shall receive according to the things that are done in the flesh, whether they be good or evil (2 Cor. V. 10; Acts XVII. 31).

XCVIII

That of that day and hour knows no man, no, not the angels in heaven, neither the Son himself, but the Father only (Mark XIII. 33). But at that time, whether revealed into the church or not, we dare not say anything positively.

XCIX

That Christ that man shall be judge in that day (Acts XVII. 31) that he shall come in the cloud with glory, and all his holy angels with him (Mat. XXV), with a shout, and with the voice of the archangel and with the trump of God (1 Thess. IV. 16), and he shall sit upon the throne of his glory, and all nations shall be gathered before him, and

he shall separate them one from another, as a shepherd separates the sheep from the goats, setting the sheep on his right hand and the goats on the left. (Mat. XXV.)

C

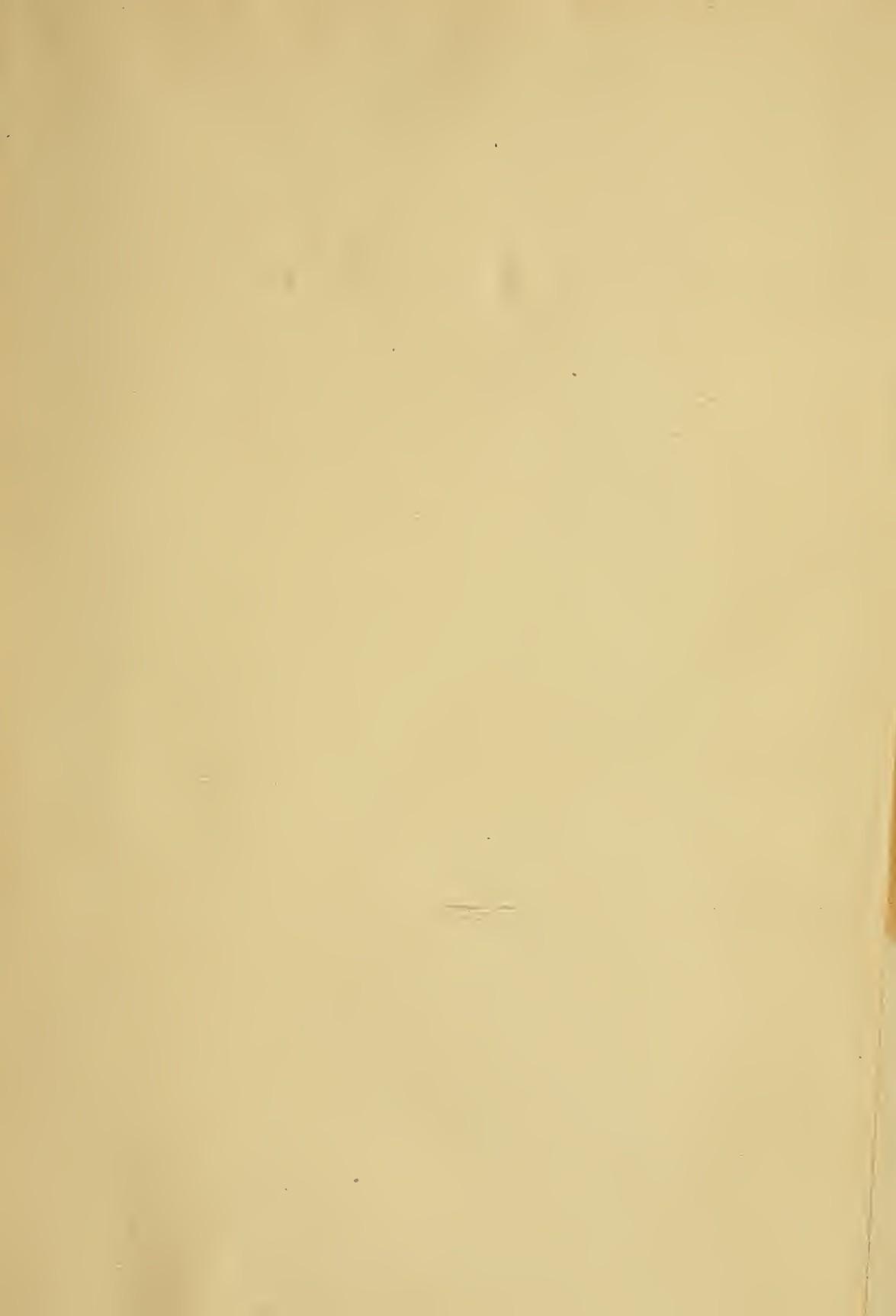
That the King shall say to the sheep, the regenerate, which are on his right hand, "Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you before the foundation of the world," and it shall be performed accordingly. (Mat. XXV.)

CI

That the King shall say to them on his left hand, the goats, the wicked ones "Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire prepared for the devil and his angels," and it shall be accomplished accordingly.

CII

That after the judgment ended and accomplished, and the last enemy, that is death, being put under the feet of Christ, then the Son himself shall deliver up the kingdom into the hands of the Father, and shall be subject unto him, that God may be all in all (1 Cor. XV. 24).



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